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The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE
WEST AND SOUTH WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL
ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXIX

DECEMBER, 1933

Number 3

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the
Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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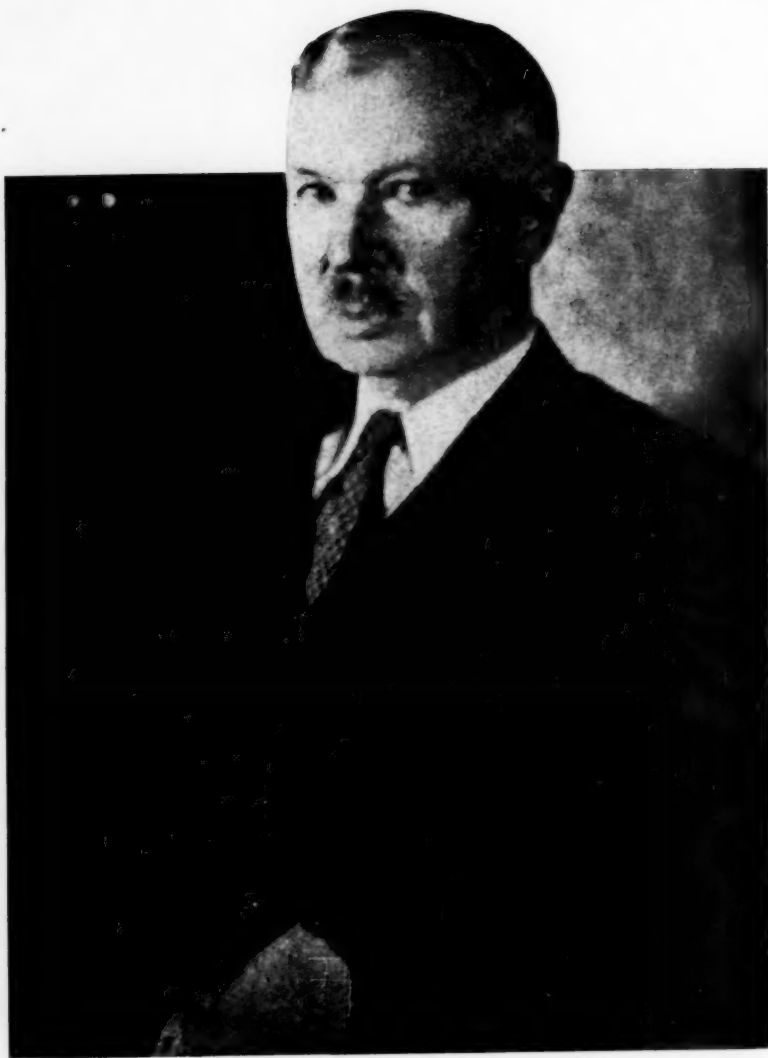
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The membership fee in each of the associations named above is \$2.00 a year, with the addition of 25 cents a year for Canadian members, for postage. This fee includes subscription to the JOURNAL at a special rate. See the inside of the back cover.

Twenty-five reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

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HERBERT JEWETT BARTON
1853 - 1933

(See page 233)

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXIX

DECEMBER, 1933

NUMBER 3

Editorial

ECHOES FROM THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE

A charter member called the secretary's office a few days ago and offered profuse apologies for not having sent in her dues and asked: "Is it too late to pay now?" The secretary's reply to this conscientious devotee to our cause was just what yours would have been: "It is never too late."

Have you overlooked payment of your dues for the current year? If so, it is not too late for you as an individual member; but when hundreds of members postpone payment of their dues, as is the case at the present time, the Association finds itself without funds to meet its current expenses. Have our readers observed that the latest volumes of the JOURNAL are larger by one-third than those of a decade ago and that the subscription price has not been increased since 1917? Would the members of our Association and the subscribers to the JOURNAL wish to have us go back to the smaller numbers, with the size and number of the articles reduced, the "Notes" and the "Hints for Teachers" and the "Book Reviews" cut in half or dropped entirely? An examination of the secretary-treasurer's report in the following pages may suggest that such a reduction of the size and scope of our JOURNAL may be necessary unless all members will share in the work of securing new members or new subscriptions. The Association and its CLASSICAL JOURNAL cannot exist save through membership fees and subscriptions.

In some of our states a campaign for membership is already in progress, and the results of this campaign are encouraging.

Florida, Michigan, New Mexico, and Virginia, all of which show a gain in membership for last year (see Table I, column 1), will need to watch their laurels. While the gains in three of these states are slight, the state of Florida has increased its membership 30 per cent. The states of Louisiana, Tennessee, and Wyoming have succeeded in holding their membership in spite of opposing forces. Of the nine states which had a membership of one hundred or more in 1932, Texas alone has deserted the three-digit rank, having suffered a loss of twenty-three members, or 21 per cent.

States that have kept their losses under 10 per cent are Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Losses in other states range from 10 per cent to as high as 33 per cent in Nebraska and even 53 per cent in North Dakota. It is only fair to observe that the latter figure is based on a very small membership and is not nearly so serious as smaller percentage losses in those states which have always maintained large memberships.

The loss in members for all states during the year is 284, or 10.4 per cent, as against a loss of 406 members, or 13 per cent, during the preceding year of 1931-32. It is gratifying to observe that of the total number of 2,426 members 291 are new members.

The total number of annual subscriptions by nonmembers is 551 as compared with 716 of a year ago. This is a decrease of 165, or 23 per cent, while the decrease in last year's report was 108, or about 9 per cent.

The totals in column 5 show gains for Alabama, Florida, New Mexico, Louisiana, and "Out of Territory." The grand total is 3,281, which indicates a loss of 520, or 13.6 per cent.

The status of other classical associations is indicated in Tables II, III, and IV. The loss in member subscribers (column 1) for the Classical Association of New England is 8.2 per cent; for the Classical Association of the Pacific States, 20 per cent; for the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, 22 per cent. The combined loss of these three associations is 16.2 per cent (Table V, line 2), as compared with our membership loss of 10.4 per cent.

The "Cash Receipts and Disbursements" (Table VI) for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1933, is reproduced from the report of the Auditor, F. E. Ross, Certified Public Accountant, Ann Arbor.

FRED S. DUNHAM,
Secretary-Treasurer

TABLE I. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

	March 15, 1933					March 15, 1932				
	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total	Memb.	Ann'l Sub.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total
Alabama	19	5		11	55	25	6		2	33
Arkansas	19	3		3	25	20	6			26
Colorado	40	7			47	44	15	2		61
Florida	35	7		11	53	27	7		13	47
Georgia	35	16		6	57	41	21		11	73
Illinois	367	66		32	465	402	91		42	535
Indiana	239	42		28	309	274	50		24	348
Iowa	113	16		27	156	128	17		22	167
Kansas	85	19			104	95	23	1	1	120
Kentucky	49	17		4	70	62	23		8	93
Louisiana	36	10		5	51	36	11		3	50
Michigan	188	36	6	7	237	181	57		34	272
Minnesota	61	14			75	67	20		21	108
Mississippi	39	12		19	70	57	14		10	81
Missouri	100	30			130	111	30		1	142
Nebraska	59	11			70	89	16		9	114
New Mexico	9	1			10	8	1			9
North Carolina	55	12		9	76	69	21		2	92
North Dakota	7				7	15	2			17
Ohio	313	44	11	24	392	328	69		47	444
Oklahoma	32	18		7	57	38	19		7	64
South Carolina	26	10		22	58	38	12		30	80
South Dakota	28	8			36	35	14		2	51
Tennessee	49	22		10	81	49	24		10	83
Texas	84	35		12	131	107	34		3	144
Utah	7				7	9				9
Virginia	103	13		7	123	100	13		26	139
West Virginia	26	7		5	38	38	12	5	4	59
Wisconsin	125	29		11	165	131	35		13	179
Wyoming	4	2			6	4	3			7
Ontario	47	9			56	59	12			71
Foreign		30			30		38			38
Out of Territory	27			27	54	23			22	45
	2426	551	17	287	3281	2710	716	8	367	3801

TABLE II. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

	March 15, 1933			March 15, 1932		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Connecticut	105	10	115	115	11	126
Maine	24	9	33	33	10	43
Massachusetts	274	29	303	294	31	325
New Hampshire	26	7	33	27	11	38
Rhode Island	25	4	29	21	3	24
Vermont	14	2	16	16	5	21
Out of Territory	22	—	22	28	—	28
	490	61	551	534	71	605

TABLE III. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

	March 15, 1933			March 15, 1932		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Arizona	2	5	7	3	6	9
California	146	21	167	180	34	214
Idaho	4	5	9	5	5	10
Montana	4	8	12	6	10	16
Nevada	1	1	2	2	1	3
Oregon	22	4	26	21	4	25
Washington	17	10	27	28	11	39
Out of Territory	—	—	—	2	—	2
	196	54	250	247	71	318

TABLE IV. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

	March 15, 1933			March 15, 1932		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Delaware	3	1	4	5	1	6
District of Columbia	12	11	23	14	7	21
Maryland	21	13	34	25	15	40
New Jersey	48	32	80	60	34	94
New York	182	72	254	236	82	318
Pennsylvania	137	102	239	177	114	291
Out of Territory	4	—	4	6	—	6
	407	231	638	523	253	776

TABLE V. SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

	March 15, 1933	March 15, 1932
Members of the Middle West and South.....	2426	2710
Members of other Associations.....	1093	1304
Annual Subscriptions.....	897	1111
Free Copies to Seniors.....	287	367

Paid Students Subscriptions.....	17	8
Exchange Copies.....	13	13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4733	5513

TABLE VI. RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Fiscal Year Extending from September 1, 1932, to August 31, 1933

Receipts

Cash in the Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Sept. 1, 1932.....		\$ 2,266.05
Receipts for the Year:		
Members' Dues and Subscriptions.....	\$3,558.79	
Annual Subscriptions.....	2,076.43	
Classical Association of the Atlantic States.....	290.00	
Classical Association of the New England States.....	537.50	
Classical Association of the Pacific States.....	232.50	
Student Subscriptions	8.75	
Membership Subscriptions to <i>Classical Philology</i>	380.51	
<i>Classical Journal Index</i>	40.00	
Advertising	998.86	
Reprints	9.12	
Sale of JOURNALS from Stock on Hand.....	92.30	
Addressograph Service.....	7.75	
Interest on Bonds.....	133.75	
Returned Checks Made Good.....	14.50	
Editors' Account Refund	35.95	
Postage Refund.....	6.48	8,423.19
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Amount to Be Accounted for.....		\$10,689.24

Disbursements

Printing of CLASSICAL JOURNAL.....	\$6,167.88
Editors' Account.....	548.03
Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer's Office:	
Addressograph	\$ 14.35
Auditing, 1931-1932.....	22.50
Clerical	1,858.40
Equipment	4.95
Insurance	18.06
Office Supplies.....	69.00
Postage	283.72
Printing	30.38
Sundries	33.88
	<hr/>
Expenses of Vice Presidents' Membership Campaign.....	293.94
<i>Classical Philology</i> Subscriptions, Univ. of Chicago Press	380.51
Expenses Moving, Oberlin to Ann Arbor.....	5.82

Purchase of Old JOURNALS.....	15.00	
Returned Checks.....	42.00	
Returned Interest Coupons.....	60.00	
Members' Dues Refunded.....	2.00	
Subscriptions Refunded.....	4.75	
Expenses Annual Meeting, Williamsburg, Virginia ----	185.74	
<i>Classical Journal Index</i>	8.69	\$10,049.60
		<hr/>
Cash in Farmers and Mechanics Bank, August 31, 1933..	639.64	
		<hr/>
Total Cash Accounted for.....		\$10,689.24

THE PLACE OF LATIN IN THE SMALL COLLEGE

Williams College is one of the few remaining institutions which require of all students the equivalent of four years of high school Latin followed by one year in college. Therefore when Dr. Harry A. Garfield, the president of Williams, addressed the members of the Classical Association of New England on the position of Latin in the small college, his remarks were received with great interest.¹ It seems fitting that at least a summary be presented to a wider audience through the pages of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

According to Dr. Garfield, no one will deny that Latin is a good study, but many insist that something else is better. The small college which does not desire to grow in numbers or to change its type need pay little attention to the often repeated argument that men are excluded by the Latin requirement. There is therefore no reason why such a college should consider dropping Latin unless there is something to put in its place better suited to accomplish the purposes for which the college exists. What are the aims of liberal education to-day? "We knew fifty years ago," said Dr. Garfield. "The Little Red Schoolhouse stood for the three R's, and the New England College conjured up visions of knowledge to be gained and character to be formed. Arithmetic seems to have held its own . . . but reading and writing are in a parlous state. Many of us think that the schools are teaching too many things to the neglect of fundamentals. A

¹ Under the title "Dr. Garfield Defends the Latin Requirement," the address was printed in the *Williams Alumni Review* for April, 1933, pp. 234-237.

thorough knowledge of Latin grammar has at least this to be said in its favor, that it paves the way for an understanding of correct use of English."

The gaining of knowledge is still part of the purpose of a college course, although the ability to use that knowledge is rightly regarded as a more important aim. But what of character? In general one may say that the college ideal of fifty and more years ago was the gentleman and scholar. Now altogether too many seek social success and campus honors that they may qualify at graduation for the get-rich-quick class. "For which goal ought we to strive? Clearly for that which equips a student to contribute to the world the best that is in him. I do not mean that he should seek to be a scholar of the old-fashioned type who was satisfied merely to punctuate his conversation with fine phrases and his public addresses with quotations from the Classics, but one who has learned to think clearly and judge soundly, whose tastes are scholarly and refined, who, leaving the counting-house behind him at the end of his vocational day, knows how to live simply and bring happiness to his companions, who perceives the difference between frankness and the merely rude; one who never permits himself, like the vulgarian, to expose the blasphemous and obscene under a diaphanous cloak of art for art's sake. It is altogether admirable that the colleges now seek to train men to think, but it is admirable only when they are taught to think about things worth while and of noble character, to balance the several elements that make up life. It would, of course, be absurd to say that only present day literature is unbalanced and revels in the vulgar and the obscene, but one of the values of the Classics is that in the course of time the husks have been torn away and thrown to the swine. This is not so with the green and unripe. . . . The well tried is best suited for the study of undergraduates. No one is qualified to become a judge and arbiter of good literature until he knows the principles that underlie it, and has learned to distinguish it from what is cheap and ephemeral. Only when these principles have been firmly estab-

lished in the mind of a student is he qualified to form judgments. . . .

"The small college of the old New England type hesitates to discard Latin, certainly until time has proved that that which is to take its place is as well, or better, qualified to train men to think and to think things through. . . . I realize that other substitutes than literature will be suggested, that the social sciences, for example, are prepared to argue for the suitability of courses in their fields. Such courses can undoubtedly be found, but in each case the burden of proof must rest upon those offering the substitute to demonstrate that the courses proposed will meet the aims of the small college as well as does Latin literature properly taught."

R. M. G.

ANNUAL MEETING AT MEMPHIS

The Classical Association of the Middle West and South will hold the annual meeting next March in Memphis, Tennessee, as guest of the two institutions, Southwestern and Teachers College, assisted by the Chamber of Commerce.

The kind invitation from Memphis proves a happy solution of the problem which arose when late in the summer President Mierow of Colorado College was offered the opportunity of spending the year in Europe. It was felt that his absence would make still more difficult the securing of a good attendance at the meeting, in these hard times already difficult enough because of the distance of Colorado Springs from centres of classical population. Memphis is well centreed in our territory. The presence there of Nellie Angel Smith and H. J. Bassett, for long prominent members of the Association, is an assurance that the work of the officers for a successful meeting will be well supported. The location at Memphis makes it very probable that the Southern Section, of which R. B. Steele and George Currie are in charge, will unite again with the main body.

G. A. HARRER

"ONE WHO LOVED HIS COUNTRY WELL" ¹

By HUBERT MCNEILL POTEAT
Wake Forest College

Three earnest and very competent gentlemen sat down together near Bononia, on an October day in the seven hundred eleventh year of the founding of the city, and organized a triumvirate which was later duly sanctioned and approved by the obedient and apathetic citizen body of Rome. The three gentlemen were quite cognizant of the disturbing fact that their enemies were numerous and they presently made the alarming discovery that their sesterces were few. Could the foul ghost of Sulla have been hovering like an obscene Harpy over that council board; or was Allecto the Fury cracking her horrible whip and brandishing her blazing torch; or is there, after all, some ground for a belief in total depravity? At any rate, our three earnest and competent gentlemen drew up, each for himself, lists of their fellow citizens who must be forcibly and at once removed from the scene. It is not difficult to imagine the gloating, savage glee with which Marcus Antonius wrote down first the name of Marcus Tullius Cicero, for the great orator had curried, flogged, flayed him in blazing words like whips of fire — and now the time of revenge was come. Octavian shrugged his young shoulders and consented to the death of his venerable friend. "I learn," says Plutarch,² "that Caesar Augustus, many years later, paid a visit to one of his daughter's sons; and the boy, having a work of Cicero in his hands, was frightened and attempted to conceal it in his garment. But Caesar saw it, took it, and read a large part of it, standing in his place. At last he handed it back to the lad, saying: 'A learned

¹ Read before the New Jersey Classical Association, Rutgers University, May 6, 1933.

² *Cicero*, 49, 3.

man, my boy, a learned man — and one who loved his country well.' ”

With the single exception of the mighty Julius, there is no Roman about whose name and achievements the fires of controversy have blazed more fiercely than about Cicero's. Nobody seems to be able successfully to maintain even a pretense of neutrality where he is concerned. His friends are loyal and not only can but do talk without end in his praise (I, for example); his enemies are bitter and not only can but do talk without end to his utter damnation. And the reason for this spirited and interminable logomachy is to be found not only in his prominent and striking rôle among the actors who trod the boards in that splendid and tragic drama of the death of the Republic, but to the fact that, thanks to his letters, we know more about him than we do about any other Greek or Roman.

Cicero's critics — Appian and Dio, Montaigne and Macaulay, Drumann and Mommsen, and the rest — have wallowed in veritable polemic orgies over Cicero's vanity, his alleged cowardice, inconsistency, and clumsy and disingenuous political activities. Now the orator's warmest and most steadfast admirers have never been so utterly witless as to claim perfection for their hero. For instance, that Cicero was vain, nobody denies, though Rolfe reminds us that

Caesar's arrogant words and deeds, as catalogued by Suetonius, convict him of greater conceit than is shown by Cicero; but Caesar's vanity, which extended to his personal appearance, is overshadowed by his more picturesque qualities and is for the most part forgotten.³

In this paper I propose to address myself to the three charges of cowardice, inconsistency, and self-seeking statesmanship. I shall not attempt so ambitious an undertaking as even a cursory outline of Cicero's whole active life, but shall rather select for attention five or six episodes — crises, if you like — which appear to me to show pretty clearly the inner spirit of the man and thus to be diagnostic of his motives and character. And I reserve

³ J. Rolfe, *Cicero and His Influence*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1928), 11.

explicitly for you the right to disagree with me *usque ad vim et arma*.

Some years ago a student of mine, answering an examination question on the *Philippics*, delivered himself of this notable pronouncement :

The *Philippics* were orations which Cicero delivered against Verries for distortion in a province.

We shall begin with the prosecution of Verres in 70, when Cicero was thirty-six years of age — omitting, for the sake of time, the defense of Roscius of Ameria, ten years earlier, though that case is not without its bearing upon our theme. Gaius Verres, one of the earliest of the really scientific and thoroughgoing Roman provincial plunderers, is in many ways to be considered as a sort of symptom of the political status quo of his period ; that is to say, of the rapidly disintegrating Republic. We cannot enter here upon a detailed discussion of the many causes of this disintegration. It may be said, in general, that the fathers laid, in the foundation of their state, many stones which appeared to them sound — and which were sound enough for that primitive and simple edifice, but which crumbled ultimately into blinding, choking dust under the crushing weight of later additions to the building. That stone whose collapse was attended by the most far-reaching and tragic results was the senate — in earlier days a rock indeed upon which the republic rested secure and tranquil, but in Cicero's time it was dominated by a snarling and avaricious oligarchy, utterly devoid of honesty, patriotism, and even common decency. The widespread civic apathy of the period made it possible for this wretched group to rule Rome and its provinces like kings and emperors. Sporadic revolts and conspiracies and seditions, led by such men as the Gracchi, Drusus, Spartacus, and Catiline, were ruthlessly smashed ; and when the grip of the oligarchy on the nation's throat had finally been broken by Caesar, its members, in a last access of fury, assassinated their conqueror.

In the year 70 the senate was in the full tide of power ; the consuls for the year were Pompey and Crassus. This pair of precious asses, posing like silly peacocks in the rôle of popular

leaders and tinkering busily with Sulla's reactionary constitution, were simply ignored and despised by the senatorial leaders who could see not the slightest serious threat to their position from such incredible piddlers. Now Verres was owned, body and soul, by the oligarchy; he was the oligarchy's chattel, its thing, its little dog, wearing its master's chain about its neck. Moreover, his attorney was the leader of the Roman bar — eloquent, florid, ornate Hortensius — also a creature of the oligarchy. And who was Marcus Tullius Cicero to plunge head first into such formidable opposition? Why, he was a mere presumptuous climber from rustic Arpinum, a clumsy country bumpkin, a *novus homo*; yes, he had served a year as quaestor in western Sicily; no, there had been no particular complaints about his conduct from Rome's oldest province, but after all, etc., etc. Thus, the oligarchy. And yet, there must have been a few members of the inner circle who realized that their favorite was in considerable peril, for they attempted to block the young attorney for the Sicilians at every step. They were unsuccessful because, although they knew that Cicero was a lawyer and orator of promise, they had had no opportunity as yet of learning two other pertinent facts. One of these facts was that he possessed a boundless ambition to rise to the very summit through his own sheer merit and ability, unsupported as he was by ancestral prestige; the other was that he hated with a bitter and uncompromising detestation the monumental and almost unbelievable criminality of Verres himself. And so he swept aside the effort of the oligarchy to have Caecilius, one of Verres' quaestors, appointed as prosecutor, gathered his evidence and his supporting witnesses in less than half the time allotted him, was elected to the curule aedileship against the frantic opposition of Verres and all his Janizaries and Mamelukes, began the trial on August fifth by proceeding at once to definite charges, well supported by testimony, instead of following the usual custom of shelling the woods and laying down a barrage of verbal pyrotechnics, and produced evidence so utterly devastating that Verres withdrew into voluntary exile. The cause was won, Hortensius soundly whipped, the oligarchy shamed, Cicero acknowledged as

the first lawyer of Rome. He completed his triumph over the miserable senatorial ring by publishing in five orations the vast mass of material he had assembled but had not used in the *Actio Prima*.

Those gentlemen who insist that Cicero poured out his very soul in this affair because of a mere longing for fame and prestige seem rather obviously searching for brickbats. If his ambition had not been hallowed by an ardent love of his country, he would never have deliberately flouted, as he did in this case and in the Roscius affair, the little coterie of men who were the real rulers of Rome.

It is interesting to recall, as we pass from this scene to the next, that Verres managed to take with him into exile at Massilia so many of the art treasures he had filched from the Sicilians that he came at last under the roving and predacious eye of Antony; and on Antony's proscription list, not far from the name of Cicero, stood the name of Gaius Verres.

I pass over 66, the year of Cicero's praetorship and of the brilliant oration *For the Manilian Law* (opposed, remember, by the conservatives), remarking merely that the one phenomenon in Cicero's complex mental and spiritual equipment which I find hardest to comprehend is his adoration of the vain, strutting peacock who was called, incorrectly enough, Pompeius Magnus.

Professor E. S. Beesly,⁴ one of Cicero's severest modern critics, has presented in his essays on Catiline and Clodius a strong case in support of a continuous Roman revolution, beginning with the elder Gracchus, led in turn by the younger Gracchus, Saturninus, Drusus, Sulpicius the orator, Catiline, Clodius, and Caesar — by whom the struggle of nearly a hundred years was finally brought to complete success in the overthrow of the Republic, that is to say, of the oligarchy. Now Beesly insists that Cicero, "this wind-bag, this prating knave,"⁵ deliberately and unceasingly lied about Catiline, concocted out of thin air a conspiracy which never had

⁴ *Essays — Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius*: New York, G. E. Stechert & Co. (1924).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

any actual existence, and ultimately, by the sheer power of his words, drove into open and armed rebellion a peaceful, disinterested soul whose only crime was that he was leader of the popular party. Moreover, Beesly appears to believe that Cicero was little more than the hired servant of the oligarchy, deeply grateful that his high office gave him an opportunity at once of doing the will of his natural and much respected overlords and of keeping the downtrodden people in their place by crushing the enlightened reformers who sought only to improve political conditions and to restore liberty to its defrauded possessors.

It will be generally admitted, I imagine, that Cicero employed the customary oratorical trick of overstating his case — that he exaggerated, in some measure, at least, the heinousness of Catiline's alleged misdoings and painted in too lurid colors the state's peril. But I am unable to persuade myself to accept Beesly's interpretation — brilliantly and cogently as it is set forth. The consulship had long been the goal of Cicero's ambition — a perfectly respectable and legitimate ambition. He was, indeed, so eager to attain it that in 65 he planned to defend Catiline in the court *de repetundis* and had even gone to the disgraceful extreme of "fixing" the jury with the complaisant assistance of Clodius, the prosecutor. Cicero naïvely remarks to Atticus (*Att.* I, 2, 1):

I hope if he is acquitted, he will be rather closely allied with me in the conduct of the campaign.

It may be noted parenthetically that our scanty extant evidence appears to prove conclusively that Cicero did not carry out his plans with respect to the defense of his rival for consular honors. Now our hero certainly owed his election at least in part to the fact that the conservatives generally supported him, not because they wanted to, as I shall point out presently, but because they feared Catiline (rightly or wrongly) and suspected Gaius Antonius, the only other serious candidate, of hopeless incompetence (rightly).

Cicero, as is well known, was an ardent proponent of harmony among the orders, and there is a vast deal of eloquence expended on that matter in the Catilinarian orations, not to mention the

fine passage in the first book of the *De Republica* (25). Born an *eques*, he served no group to the exclusion of the others, but in the great majority of cases he took his stand, I believe, where he thought his duty to his country lay. Now the weakest spot in the case presented by his critics, including Beesly, seems to me to be a certain unwillingness to talk about the attitude of the conservatives toward Cicero. That attitude was, from the beginning of his political activity to the end of his life, bitterly hostile, and the orator knew it. In three important cases in his preconsular career (Roscius, Verres, the Manilian Law), he had flouted them; the speeches against Verres, indeed, may well be regarded as an assault of almost gigantic proportions upon the whole system on which the oligarchy rested. The oligarchs hated the rising statesman for his frankness, for his effectiveness, for his eloquence, for his ambition, and perhaps most of all for his rural and unimpressive origin. In July, 65, he writes to Atticus:

Your speedy return is most important, for the general opinion here is that your friends the *nobiles* will oppose my election to the consulate (*Att.* 1, 2, 2).

We have already seen that they actually did not oppose his election — and we have considered their reason for supporting the man who had so often combated their interests and their creatures. In other words, while they snarled and snapped and sneered at the *novus homo*, they respected him for his proven courage and his essential honesty and were willing to trust the ship of state to his guidance when rocks and reefs loomed ahead. And their confidence in him was abundantly justified in the latter part of 63, for he handled the conspiracy with an alert resourcefulness and a spirited and vigorous audacity which have won him grudging praise from some of his most captious critics. Was he fighting for the oligarchy, standing shoulder to shoulder with "the little group of wilful men in the Senate" (to use Woodrow Wilson's phrase) who were rapidly and surely dragging the Republic into its grave, selling his talents and his high office for thirty pieces of silver? Ah no! He was waging war for his country; he was standing shoulder to shoulder with anybody (includ-

ing the oligarchy) who was willing to fight her battles; he was employing his talents and his high office for the praise of his fellow citizens, the approval of posterity, and the reward of a clean conscience.

We shall certainly not enter the wordy and sempiternal debate upon the question of the legality of the execution of Catiline's privy council. The importance of that matter, so far as the present inquiry is concerned, lies in the fact that Cicero was so firmly convinced of the rightness of his cause that he had the courage to see it through all the way to its logical and inevitable end, even though he was perfectly well aware of the personal peril involved — as we know from his own words.⁶ That peril was a very real one, as he must have seen clearly, even in the event that his hoped-for coalition of *equites* and *senatorius ordo* should prove genuine and lasting, for he had now made eternal enemies out of all who supported Catiline, while the oligarchy, thankful in its contemptuous way, no doubt, for being saved from fire and sword, was still the oligarchy, *suspendens*, to quote Horace — *suspendens omnia naso*,⁷ especially Cicero. We have heard from many of the orator's critics much sneering talk about his lavish use of the tremolo stop in the *Fourth Oration*. Well, granting that he does rival our unspeakable modern movie organists in his affection for that especial effect, is there a valid reason to suppose that he was insincere in it? I think not; nor have I seen, in the works of the anti-Ciceronians, any statement or argument to the contrary which is in the slightest degree convincing to me.

Admitting the possibility of exaggeration in the *Catilinarians*, admitting the possibility of the excessive employment of the tremolo, admitting that Cicero was fighting now on the side of the oligarchy, I am unable to find, anywhere in this perfervid episode, a single sign or token of the mercenary soldier, the hired pleader, the venal official. Cicero, it seems to me, thought of himself as the protector of the city he loved, as the defender of the constitution he revered, as a shepherd, guarding his fellow citizens against

⁶ E.g., in *Cat.* iv, 20.

⁷ *Serm.* ii, 8, 64.

the wolves of sedition and rebellion; and, as I have already reminded you, he finished the job — legally or not, as the case may be; he did not compromise nor flinch nor hesitate: he was the shepherd of a well-loved flock.

But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep.

When Cicero sought to deliver a farewell address to the people, upon the completion of his term of office, Metellus Nepos, tribune of the commons, forbade him to speak, on the ground that he had executed Roman citizens without trial. This was the first premonitory rumble of thunder, heralding the tempest of 58 which blew him into exile. The proud "father of his country" heard; but, with the praises of his fellow citizens ringing in his ears, he paid scant heed. From that time on, indeed, the phrase *res eas gessi* was often on his lips. The younger Seneca remarked, many years later, that Cicero praised his consulship *non sine causa sed sine fine* (*De Brevitate Vitae*, 5, 1). In the year 60 he composed a history of that unparalleled consulship, written originally in Greek and then translated into Latin, and in the same year inflicted upon a harassed world a poem in three books, *De Suo Consulatu*, "in order," as he writes to the long-suffering Atticus (I, 19, 10) — "in order that I may neglect no method of sounding my own praises." Both of these major works are, perhaps fortunately, lost.

It is of interest to note that late in 62 Cicero came to the conclusion that the modest family home in the Carinae was not sufficiently stylish for the savior of the state. He therefore purchased from Crassus a mansion on the Palatine (Park Avenue), for the enormous sum of three and a half million sesterces, of which, as Gellius tells us (*N. A.* XII, 12, 2), he borrowed more than half.

During the last tragic years of the Republic many horrible boils appeared upon the once stanch and strong body politic — symptomatic of deep-seated and incurable maladies within. Consider, for example, the so-called First Triumvirate. Caesar had sprung

into the limelight as a popular leader on the fateful Nones of December, 63, with his speech in opposition to the death penalty for Catiline's associates. Upon his return to the city from a rather eventful *propraetorship* in Spain, he assayed the political situation with his customary perspicacity and shrewd judgment. The result was one of the most amazing and effective cabals in restraint of government the world has ever seen. Caesar certainly had no respect for that fumbling, piddling peacock, Pompey, who had recently condescended to honor the city again with his magnificent presence after having flattened Pontus, Syria, and all points East; the mighty Julius was far too canny an observer of humanity in general and of ambitious politicians in particular. And we may be very sure that he also knew — and despised — his Crassus. But Pompey had hosts of admirers in Rome because of his successful military career, and Crassus had hosts of sesterces. The combination was almost perfect — brains, renown in warfare, plenty of money to grease the wheels withal. But there was one important element lacking. The Unholy Alliance needed a public relations counsel whose eloquence should steadily win new friends to the cause — for Caesar well knew that he and his associates were already *personae ingratissimae* to the oligarchy. And so Cicero was gently approached with an offer of this important post.⁸ I have always been happy that he did not accept it, for if he had, those high school and college students who habitually misspell *triumvirate* would be *spurlos versenkt* in the awful presence of *quattuorvirate*. Of course Cicero was flattered and his vanity intriguingly titillated, but his political opinions and beliefs were deeply rooted and they did not even permit approval of any such contravention of the *mos maiorum* as the coalition represented, let alone active participation in its unhallowed doings. But his refusal of the invitation laid the foundation for the fulfilment of his own gloomy prophecies, so piteously pronounced in the *Fourth Catilinarian*.

The instrument of fulfilment was, of course, Publius Clodius

⁸ But see Sanders, *The So-called First Triumvirate: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, X (1932), 55-68.

Pulcher, an imp of Stygian darkness, if there ever was one. Cicero liked to call him Handsome Claude (*Pulchellus*), and his goatish antics constantly provided Roman tongue-waggers with abundant material for juicy and succulent gossip. The scandalous affair of the invasion of the mysteries of *Bona Dea*, in December, 62, was his most notable escapade, for its results were manifold and far-reaching. Among these results was one of the most genuinely humorous remarks of all recorded history — Caesar's famous pronouncement that "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion" — a pronouncement aptly enough accompanied by the divorce of the charming but indiscreet Pompeia. Clodius was quite deliberate in maturing his plans for revenge upon Cicero for upsetting his alibi at the so-called trial, for skinning him in a senate debate afterwards, and for scattering naughty little whispers concerning scandalous relations between him and his sisters. Beesly will have it that these matters counted not at all with the renegade Claudian; that he, rather, as representative of the *populares*, sought revenge upon Cicero for the Nones of December. At any rate, he decided to stand for the tribunate and began to lay siege to the eminent divine who had purchased the chief pontificate in 63 and to implore him to convene the *comitia curiata*, in order that the avenger of Lentulus and Cethegus and the rest might be transferred to the plebeians. But Caesar put him off until February, 59, when Cicero, true to his convictions and brave enough to give them frank utterance at whatever personal cost, made a bitter attack on the puissant Three in the course of an address for his miserable consular colleague, Antonius, in the court *de repetundis* (*De Domo Sua* 40; Dio, 38, 10). Caesar acted at once; the *comitia* was called into session and Clodius became a plebeian.

I am unable to accept the opinion of Cicero's critics to the effect that Caesar was actuated here solely by a desire to have Cicero punished for his doings in 63. Caesar was going beyond the Alps, leaving his fumbling and ineffective coadjutors to manage the affairs of the alliance, and he feared Cicero's eloquent tongue and sought to silence it or at least to teach it a bit of dis-

cretion. But there can be no doubt that he genuinely admired the orator and valued his friendship. And so, having prepared for his removal from the city by force, if necessary, he attempted to gain his ends more mercifully by offering him successively a position on his staff, a *libera legatio*, and a post on the land commission. Cicero, serenely confident that such an incredible scoundrel as Clodius could never harm so much as a hair on the head of the savior of his country, waved aside all these friendly gestures of Caesar — and departed presently into exile, while the *populares* raged and Clodius and his hooligans not only imagined but accomplished many a vain thing. The letters written during the year and a half Cicero spent in banishment make painful reading for his admirers, being spiteful, peevish, and utterly devoid of dignity and fortitude.

In the pompous epistle written to Atticus soon after the triumphant return in September, 57, we find this significant statement (*Att.* iv, 1, 8):

Already certain persons who defended me during my absence are beginning secretly to rage at me, now that I am here again, and quite openly to cast malicious eyes upon me.

The oligarchy, of course. The old embers of their envy and spite had been fanned into vigorous flame by Cicero's courageous (if mistaken) action in facing squarely, a day or two after his arrival in the city, a very pretty dilemma concocted for him by the agile and resourceful Clodius. It seems that there was a scarcity of food. Clodius' howling mob of maniacs and morons shouted, insanely enough, that Cicero was to blame; some bright politician proposed that Pompey be appointed food commissioner with extensive power; the mob called on Cicero for an immediate public expression of his opinion. Forgetting that Pompey had done nothing net to prevent his banishment, and forgetting, too, that the pontiffs, creatures of the oligarchy, were at that moment considering the question of restoring to him his lot on the Palatine, with indemnity for his house, destroyed by Clodius, he urged Pompey's appointment. We shall consider presently Cicero's so-called surrender to the Triumvirate. It may be said that this

speech for Pompey was actually the first step toward Cicero's important decision of a year later, and that the step was encouraged and in a measure justified by the incredible stupidity of these sniveling aristocrats who lacked the wit to realize that, by driving Cicero into the arms of the unholy Three, they were assuring the speedy termination of their long and tragic lease of power.

The outstanding political event of the year 56 was the conference held at Luca in April, in which the triumvirs patched up the rents in their ill-fitting garment of alliance and made a fresh start. It is interesting to remember that Caesar never saw Crassus again and that his subsequent encounters with Pompey took place amid the serried ranks of fighting legions. Now on April 5, Cicero had moved in the senate that Caesar's Campanian Bill be made a special order for May 15 — "at the command of the oligarchy," shouts the Honorable Company of the Sappers and Miners. Well, it is difficult enough to form sound opinions of the acts of men of the long ago, and a meticulously accurate judgment of their motives is beyond the power of the shrewdest investigator. I merely suggest that our evidence appears to show that Cicero was opposed as a matter of principle to agrarian legislation and that his wretched year and a half of exile had not quenched or even dampened his courage in the matter of speaking his mind on important public questions.

Caesar, who was maintaining a marvelously efficient grapevine telegraph connection with Rome, heard at once of Cicero's motion — heard with disappointment, we may be sure. He had hoped that the orator's exile would teach him a lesson or two, and it had evidently not accomplished that laudable and desirable result. And so Caesar complained bitterly at Luca about Cicero's continuing hostility (*Fam.* I, 9, 9). Cicero learned of this complaint from his bumptious and unpredictable younger brother, Quintus, who had it from Pompey in Sardinia, where both men were busy with the grain supply. Moreover, Pompey registered with Quintus a strenuous protest on his own account, pointing out his past favors (and omitting his past derelictions) and re-

minding the harried Quintus of a certain pledge he had made in his brother's behalf. When Marcus heard all this, he forthwith betook himself to meditation, and, no doubt, to fasting and prayer. He must have reflected on his long and intimate friendship with Pompey and his genuine admiration of Caesar and upon the many proofs of good will which both men had shown him; upon the general situation in the Republic and the futility, repeatedly demonstrated, of resistance to the mighty Three; upon the snarling bitterness of the conservatives, mumbling and mouthing at the man they should have supported with every atom of their energy; upon Quintus' pledge; upon the fact that he was now in his fifty-first year; upon the unspeakable Clodius — aedile, and still ambitious and vengeful and turbulent; upon his abiding love for the old ways and his profound belief in their inherent and essential rightness. His reflections resulted in an act that was at once logical, courageous, and patriotic. With no smallest lessening of his utter abhorrence of the idea underlying the Triumvirate, but with a deep longing to continue to serve the Republic to the best of his ability and an awakened apprehension of the fact that he could most effectively render that service by working with and through the coalition, he swallowed his pride, held his nose, and plunged. The recantation (παλινωδία) to which he rather sorrowfully refers in *Att.* iv, 5, 1 is identified by Mommsen and Tyrrell with the oration *On the Consular Provinces* (June, 56), in which he urged that Caesar's term as proconsul be extended. Other commentators (Shuckburgh, for example) advance the opinion that the palinode was simply a letter, sent probably to Pompey, in which the orator offered his services to the triumvirs. Cicero's detractors have dwelt scathingly and at length upon what they regard as his "sacrifice" of his beliefs and principles upon the altar of his personal safety and of political expediency. The weight of the argument seems to me to support the contrary point of view, the one presented above.

Riots of unusual violence prevented the election of magistrates for the year 52. After his second consulship, in 55, Pompey had been "persuaded" by the senate to remain near the city, instead

of going to his province, for the express purpose of checking such disorderly manifestations. His efforts, if any, were a total loss, for the riots proceeded apace through 54 and 53 and came to a sort of grand climax in January, 52, when the rival bands of Clodius and Milo met in fierce battle at Bovillae, on the Appian Way, and Clodius was wiped out of the picture. On February 23 the ever receptive Pompey became virtually dictator, as the result of a decree of the senate, that is to say, of the oligarchy, to the effect that he should be named sole consul, with the privilege of appointing a colleague after two months, if he cared to do so (Plutarch, *Pompey*, 54, 5). In a later letter to Atticus (*Att.* vii, 1, 4), Cicero calls this third consulship of Pompey "divine."

We are here concerned with one of the legislative enactments of the year — the *lex de provinciis*, which provided that a period of five years must elapse before an ex-consul or ex-praetor could take charge of a province. Botsford maintains that the immediate effect of this law "was to precipitate the conflict between Caesar and Pompey which brought the republic to ruin" (*The Roman Assemblies*, p. 449). The law had another effect — it sent Cicero to Cilicia as proconsul. He was obviously reluctant to leave home and friends and books, not to mention politics, but the State, through Pompey, his adored friend, called him and he answered, of course. We need not discuss his record in detail. It suffices to say that his administration stands out like a lighthouse amid the dark night of Roman provincial misgovernment and that his severest critics are compelled to admit that the only thing resembling a blot on the proconsular escutcheon was put there by his perhaps pardonable vanity. Probably through the skilful and experienced generalship of Brother Quintus and of Gaius Pomptinus, two of his legates, Cicero, *dux togatus*,⁹ won some considerable victories over some inconsequential mountain tribes with unpronounceable names and was hailed as *imperator* by his soldiers (each of whom must have had his tongue well established in his cheek). Cicero was vastly flattered, made use of his new title in letters to his friends at Rome, called for a *supplicatio*,

⁹ *In Cat.* iii, 23.

and after that had been voted (and postponed) decided he ought to be permitted to celebrate a triumph with captives, jeering soldiers, and all the customary pomp and circumstance. So eager was he, indeed, to be honored as all Rome's great generals had been that, upon his arrival at the walls on Jan. 4, 49, he declined to enter the city, in the hope that the senate could yet be prevailed upon to do him justice. But the stormy war-winds were roaring so deafeningly that his little breeze of a demand for unearned bays was lost in the whirling currents. On Jan. 12 he wrote thus to Tiro (*Fam.* XVI, 11, 2):

I encountered a very flame of civil strife or, rather, civil war. . . . In short, Caesar himself, our friend, has sent a threatening, bitter letter to the senate. . . . Never has the state been in greater peril; never have disloyal citizens had a better prepared leader. . . . My darling Pompey . . . begins — too late — to fear Caesar.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *imperator*, was appointed by the trembling, terror stricken senate to take charge of the district of Campania; but he was beginning to formulate, in his zealous old heart, elaborate — and impossible — plans for peace, and feeling that as a neutral he would be more likely to succeed, he declined the commission and, without having entered the city, departed for his villas on the same day that Pompey and the consuls moved southward (Jan. 17). The numerous letters of this period show quite clearly the terrific mental struggle through which Cicero was passing. He strongly disapproved Pompey's apparent carelessness and his negligence in all sorts of important particulars. As a matter of fact, this erstwhile mighty man of war had dwindled and shrunk into a stupid, doddering old weathercock who would have been mashed flat by Caesar long before that fateful August day in 48, had he not managed to retain until then just enough sense to refuse his enemy battle in the open field. Caesar, on the other hand, impressed not only Cicero but all observers by his manifest readiness to meet any contingency and by the practical and provident wisdom of his operations. Cicero during this period is quite frank in his expression of his admiration of Caesar's resourcefulness and generosity; moreover,

he owed Caesar a considerable sum of money, and he was pretty sure that when the dust of conflict had cleared away, this same Caesar would be standing upright, vigorous, and victorious (*Fam.* vi, 6-7 and 12). But with all his normal human love of occupying the topmost bench of the band wagon, he simply could not bring himself to so complete a divorce from everything he had stood for as an alliance with the mighty Caesar would represent. Meanwhile he was being treated with the utmost consideration by the great man and his friends, who sought to dissuade him from active participation in the conflict.

When the *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed, on January 7, Pompey became virtually dictator and, by the same token, representative of the senate and of the old régime generally. But everybody knew that the conservative party followed him solely because there was no other leader available. The fact that, theoretically at least, Pompey was Defender of the Faith influenced Cicero powerfully, of course; but it can hardly be doubted that his own deep and long-standing (if inexplicable) personal affection for this magnificent and now aging peacock gave the orator the final push that sent him from Italy on June 7 and — grumbling and growling and criticizing — into the camp at Dyrrhachium in December. He was not present at the battle of Pharsalus. After the tragic flight of Pompey into Egypt, Cicero was tendered the command of the remnants of the Pompeian forces, including the fleet — and looked in the face another terrific dilemma. His utter weariness of strife and turmoil, together with his unspeakable disgust at the general attitude of his comrades (cf., e.g., *Fam.* vii, 3, 1-5) finally drove him to forsake the Pompeian cause altogether and return to Italy. We learn from *Att.* xi, 7, 2 that, while Pompey's supporters in general had been forbidden to set foot again on Italian soil, Caesar had made a special exception of Cicero and had invited him through his precious son-in-law, Dolabella, "to return to Italy as soon as possible." And so he arrived at Brundisium in October, 48, but, fearing to impose upon Caesar's generosity to the extent of proceeding to Rome, he sat down miserably in the wretched, filthy little seaport town and

waited there eleven long months for the great man to conclude his delightful vacation in the city of Cleopatra.

Early in 46 Cicero divorced the wife of his bosom, and immediately all the match-making busybodies in Rome leaped into action. Of one candidate suggested as a suitable bride, the orator, whose eyes, it appears, were still good, remarked to Atticus that he had "never seen anything uglier" (*Att.* xii, 11). Near the end of the year our prospective bridegroom finally made his choice — on Atticus' advice — and married his rich young ward, Publilia. Critics ancient and modern have of course reminded us how big a fool an old fool is, etc., etc.; but the truth seems to be that Cicero, whose income from his law practice had amounted to almost nothing since 51 and who, therefore, was in even more straitened financial circumstances than usual, decided that the easiest way to get money was to marry it. And so we have here no December-May romance but a rather sordid business affair which does credit neither to Cicero nor to his youthful check-book.

Very few of the world's great figures have spent an old age as tragic as was Cicero's. He reached Rome in December, 47, a broken and disillusioned man. There followed his divorce, his unfortunate remarriage, the treacherous efforts of the Quincti, father and son, to prejudice him in the eyes of Caesar, the death of Tullia the beloved, and the gradual strangling of the Republic to which he had given his life. Well, his sorrows set him climbing the serene heights of philosophy, and his enforced leisure afforded him ample time for the composition of those superb essays which have given him a place all his own among the great masters of all time. He digested, sifted, and put into readable form the philosophic treasures of Greece — for his countrymen; but he became, thus, the channel through which the wisdom and culture of the mighty Greeks have come down to the western world, still fresh and vigorous. Herein is to be found Cicero's finest service — his strongest claim upon the gratitude and respect of all posterities.

There is something very pathetic in Cicero's constant effort, during this period of his life, to remain in Caesar's good graces.

He seems to have deluded himself fondly for a while with the notion that the dictator, when he had brought order out of the chaos of civil war, would turn the machinery of government back to the citizens and permit the Republic to function as of old. But as time passed and Cicero realized that nothing of the sort would be done, he grew more and more bitter against Caesar and his coadjutors. And when the news of the tragedy of the Ides of March reached him, he forgot his long friendship with Caesar, his deep admiration of him, the many evidences of respect and affection Caesar had shown him — he forgot all in his overwhelming joy that the man who had strangled the Republic, having sown the wind had now reaped the whirlwind and been borne away on its blasts. And yet Antony, consular colleague of Caesar, so rapidly and shrewdly consolidated his position that Cicero exclaimed, about a month after the assassination, "The tyrant is dead but tyranny still lives" (*Att.* xiv, 9, 2).

Young Octavian appeared in Rome in May after an interview with Cicero late in April at Naples. Professor Sihler says:¹⁰

The second Caesar had the oldest head on the youngest shoulders ever known.

Sihler is right: Octavian played, for more than a year, one of the canniest, smartest political games history has ever recorded. Upon his arrival in the city Antony, sadly underestimating the youth's quite amazing perspicacity and shrewdness, proceeded to treat him to a lavish display of plain and fancy snobbery and scorn which resulted at once in a fairly close alliance between the stripling and the bigwigs of the conservative party. As for Cicero, unable even now to realize that the Republic was dead and buried, he manifestly thought of Octavian as a sort of providentially provided trowel with which the shattered walls of the old order could be set up again.

On September 1, 44, the last act of the drama of Cicero's life began. The senate was in session. Cicero, in his mansion on the Palatine, scanned an advance copy of the agenda and decided not

¹⁰ *Cicero of Arpinum*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1914), 456.

to attend. On the next day he delivered in the senate what came to be known later as the *First Philippic* — a calm but frank discussion of Antony's policies. And when, late in November, Antony started northward at the head of an army to drive out of Cisalpine Gaul Decimus Brutus, the governor appointed by Caesar himself, Cicero issued his last declaration of war — the *Second Philippic*, the most terrific and scathing oration ever written. In his sixty-third year, naturally timid and bookish and irresolute, seared by the relentless hand of Fate, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, he leaped once more to the defense of the ideals to which he had devoted his life. The struggle was hopeless; the odds against him were too great — "words against weapons," he wrote sadly to Cornificius late in 44 (*Fam.* XII, 22, 1). But this stanch old warrior, this Roman who refused to face the new order of things or to acknowledge that his beloved Republic had passed into the mists and the shadows, fought on and on and on, until his eloquent tongue was forever silenced. "O glorious day," he wrote in 44 (*De Senectute* 84) — "O glorious day, when I shall depart to join that divine company and council of blessed spirits — when I shall escape from the chaos and pollution of earth!" That day came, at length, in December, 43, and there passed from among men Rome's most loyal and devoted citizen, Rome's sincerest patriot, Rome's greatest soul.

OUTSIDE READING FOR TEACHERS OF LATIN ¹

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There used to be an advertising slogan that read, "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are." You ate for the development of character! Now we may paraphrase that slogan and say, "Tell me what Latin you read and I will tell you how well you teach." Or read Latin for the improvement of teaching. But while people, singularly enough, have been eating a certain cereal for the development of character, teachers do not seem to think that it is necessary to read Latin for the development of power to teach Latin well. The defense, of course, is that the time for reading is so limited, the teaching schedule so heavy, study-halls so exacting of energies, supervision of extracurricular activities so interrupting, clerical duties imposed by an economizing administration so burdening, that the day never arrives when a suitable program of reading can be drawn up and consistently carried out.

To all of this I confess a feeling of deep sympathy. But I do believe it within the power of all save the hopelessly lazy teacher to read a certain minimum requirement of outside Latin with the aid of notes and lexicon. The teacher of the *Gallic War* should know thoroughly Books V, VI, and VII of the same work. He should read Caesar's account of the Civil War and the three biographies of Nepos that deal with Roman characters and Roman affairs. Teachers who have classes in the third year ought to read, in addition to the six orations generally read, the *Verrine Orations* to show Cicero as an astute lawyer, the *De Senectute* for a more extended touch of philosophy, and a generous number

¹ Read in part at the fifteenth annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa, February 10, 1933, at Iowa City.

of Cicero's letters for Roman social and political life and a better perspective of Cicero as a man. He should read Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline* for the events concerned in the campaign against Catiline and quite a number of letters of the Younger Pliny for the purpose of comparing the style of another great letter writer with Cicero's and for the social and political life of Cicero's day. Teachers who handle the work of the fourth year ought to be reasonably familiar with the last six books of the *Aeneid*. And yet it is doubtful if two per cent of our teachers read these books with ease. They ought also to read some fifteen of the more important stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, not so much to become acquainted with the myths involved as to become immersed in the pleasure of such reading and to experience Ovid's inimitable style. I would also add Ovid's *Tristia*, all of the *Eclogues* of Vergil, and a portion of the *Georgics*. Nor would this be quite all. High school Latin teachers should be familiar with selections from Catullus' poems, particularly Carmen LXIV with its beautiful Ariadne episode, and with not a few of Horace's lyrics. Many Latin teachers, to be sure, have read these in their college courses, but a second reading, for pleasure, not for credit, would vastly extend the horizon as well as improve the technique of reading. Moreover, this work would cost them but a few minutes of time daily over a period of a year or more, and the teacher who had conscientiously performed this task would certainly find himself more interesting to his pupils, better satisfied with himself, and in line for promotion when the time came for the procession of Latin teachers to step up.

The day has arrived when no teacher through scruples about using translations should deny himself access to that field of Latin and Greek literature outside the comparatively narrow limits which I have just outlined. A recent classical publication [*Latin Notes*, x (1933), No. 5] reminds teachers that it has ready at their disposal some twelve different volumes of the Loeb Classical Library translations in Greek and thirty in Latin, which could be borrowed for the sum of twenty-five cents per half-month plus transportation charges. This list, however, does not

begin to contain the number of volumes of this set of little books available to the teacher who can spend a little money each month and build up an important library of classical literature. And there are a great many other translations quite as good as the Loeb. Furthermore, concerning good translations it is far more important that the teacher shall know the literature of the Classics through translation than that he shall not know it at all.

The first work which I would recommend for outside reading in English is the most important. It is that of Aulus Gellius, the author of *Attic Nights*, a compilation of matters of antiquarian interest, written in the second century A.D. In this work embracing twenty Roman books I discovered eighty-three selections that would undoubtedly appeal to high school classes, half of the material pertaining more directly to classes in Cicero and the other half fairly evenly divided between the other years. Almost half of this material is devoted to a discussion of language as it pertains to etymologies, significance of phrases, and points of Latin grammar. Other topics are social customs, personal attire, morals, religious customs, history and legend, literature, politics, scientific observations pertaining to such things as winds, astronomy, military tactics, and a miscellaneous group in which myth, wit, and fun abound.

There is considerable material in the *Attic Nights* that might form the basis for discussion of topics that arise in first-year Latin work. The modern first-year book is full of pictures featuring Roman life as well as reading matter that discusses the pictured subjects. To teach such material effectively the teacher should be better informed than the pupil. It is taken for granted, as a matter of course, that the pupil will read his Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans* and Davis' *A Day in Old Rome*.² But Gellius will supply the teacher with anecdotes not found in these handbooks and will acquaint him with all material in a more vital and stimulating manner. His information, to be sure, is not al-

² Harold Whetstone Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, revised by Mary Johnston: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co. (1932); and W. S. Davis, *A Day in Old Rome*: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1925).

ways accurate, but even when not so, it is always a readable inaccuracy. In the first place, he gives us knowledge about Vestal Virgins, the age at which they were taken by the chief pontiff, the nature of their families, and the rites, ceremonies, and observances and titles under which they were chosen (I, 12). There is a story of King Tarquin the Proud and the Sibylline Books (I, 19), a discussion of the obedience of children to their parents: whether all commands of a father should be obeyed (II, 7), and an interesting fable of Aesop which Ennius considered so good, Gellius says, that he rendered it into tetrameter verse in his *Saturae* (II, 29). There is a discussion of the identification of the comedies of Plautus in which is mentioned the report that Plautus wrote plays in a bakery and Naevius in prison (III, 3). Gellius discusses the genitive and dative endings of *senatus* (IV, 16). He assures the puzzled schoolboy that he may be using perfectly good Latin when he writes *pluria* for *plura* (V, 21) and gives us an interesting account of how the mouth is shaped and the facial muscles worked when we use the pronouns *nos*, *vos*, *tu*, *tibi*, etc., to convey an idea correctly and with natural effect (X, 4). He discusses the various meanings of *atque* (X, 29) and of *pro* (XI, 3). He explains a clever enigma to which the answer is the proper name Terminus, a god (XII, 6). What is the vocative of *egregius*? Gellius describes a tilt between two eminent grammarians on the subject (XIV, 5). Can deponents be used in a passive sense? Gellius has an answer (XV, 13). What is the correct way of saying, "My name is Julius"? Gellius says that you will reply, of course, either *mihi nomen est Iulius* or *mihi nomen est Iulio*. But Gellius insists that he found a third way in the second book of the *Annals* of Piso, *L. Tarquinium, collegam suum, quia Tarquinio nomine esset, metuere*. Gellius says that *Tarquinio nomine esset* is as if he said *mihi nomen est Iulium*, or "I have the Julian name" (XV, 29). Then there are dolphin stories (XVI, 19) such as Pliny the Younger tells (*Ep.* IX, 33), an exposition on why a man turns pale in a storm at sea, and the foolishness of believing in phantasies and apparitions (XIX, 1).

Much that I have included in the material for the first year

would be appropriate to discuss with second-year pupils. Gellius explains why the first days after the Kalends, Nones, and Ides are unlucky and why the fourth days before these dates are considered by some fateful (v, 17). Possibly a class in Caesar would be interested to hear about this when it had reached the account of the sparing of the lives of Procillus and Metius after the third casting of the lots (*B. G.* I, 53); or when captive Germans reported to Caesar that the reason why the German army did not attack when in a favorable position was due to a full moon (*B. G.* I, 50).

More definitely applicable to the work in Caesar is the thrilling account of the raven attacking and confusing the opponent of Valerius Corvinus when all save the latter had refused combat, dismayed at the gigantic stature and ugly visage of the challenging enemy (ix, 11). This story fits in well with the terror in the camps of the Romans occasioned by the stories concerning the ferocity and stupendous strength of the Germans after the parley with Ariovistus had been broken off (*B.G.* I, 34-36 and 39). Then there are specific references to the names of various Roman weapons and sailing vessels (x, 25), the latter of which might well be discussed when the class had arrived at the description of the naval battle with the Veneti (*B.G.* III, 9-15). Gellius speaks also of the comparative accuracy in shooting missiles from above and from below (ix, 1), which would be a good story to introduce when the class is translating the passage showing the disadvantage to the Romans of having decks lower than those of the Veneti (*B.G.* III, 14, 11-13); or in the campaign in the Alps when the Gauls had the advantage of hurling their heavy javelins (*gaesa*) down hill at the ramparts of Galba's camp (*B.G.* III, 4).

There are also many stories pertinent to the work in Cicero. At the very opening of the third year we all make it a point to emphasize the importance of choosing the appropriate word in translation. Gellius has a long article in which he sets forth the care and fine taste with which another Roman examined the artful substitution made by Cicero of one word for another in one of

his orations (I, 4). Another account speaks of the fault of vain and empty loquacity and how the greatest Greek and Roman writers have condemned it (I, 15). This will be worth telling when the class is reading about the effectiveness of Archias' or Pompey's speech. Many commentators in school texts explain the plural *liberis* in *occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis* (*In Cat.* I, 2, 4) as an exaggeration used by Cicero to serve his purpose, whereas Gellius says that earlier writers (and that could mean Cicero, since Gellius wrote a century and a half after Cicero) used the plural even when referring to a single son or daughter (II, 13).

Gellius dwells at length upon the melody and cadence of Cicero's periods and defends Cicero's diction in the fifth Verrine oration, *hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum* (I, 7). Cicero's spelling of *futurum* would delight any class in composition! Then there are discussions of ambiguous words such as *tempestas* (weather or storm), *valetudo* (good or poor health), *facinus* (any act or crime), *dolus* (device or fraud), *gratia* (favor or motive), *periculum* (trial or danger), *venenum* (drug or poison), etc. (XII, 9). Distinction is shown between *fatum* and *natura* (XIII, 1), *necessitudo* and *necessitas* (XIII, 3), and between *municipium* and *colonia* (XVI, 13). And he reminds us that *humanitas* does not mean what people commonly think (XIII, 17).

At the opening and throughout the work of the third year there is occasion to speak about the force of prefixes and suffixes and the quantities of syllables. Gellius points out that in the variations in quantities of prefixes usage and the ear, not grammar and rule, should prevail (II, 17). He shows that *conicio*, *disicio* (cf. *disice corpora ponto*, *Aen.* I, 70), *obicio*, and *subicio* are really spelled with two i's following the prefix; hence, he says, the prefix is pronounced a little longer and fuller (*productius latiusque paulo pronuntiata*), thus enabling it to stand at the beginning of a measure or verse (IV, 17).

Cicero several times uses *intra muros*, "inside the city-walls." Gellius discusses the significance of *intra Kalendas*, *intra Oceanum*, *intra montem*, etc. (XII, 13). He speaks of the force of *sal-*

tem, whether it was derived from *si aliter*, as one scholar thought, or from *salutem*, according to another man. Gellius says that the latter sounds clever, but seems too far-fetched. So he thought that he ought to investigate it further. And there he leaves us (xii, 14). And so we might properly close this division of etymological discussion by citing Gellius' indignation that certain men of his time and earlier had the presumption to declare that Cicero used words "without correctness, propriety, or consideration" (*parum integre atque inproprie atque inconsiderate locutum*, xvii, 1). He describes with considerable heat the answer given him by a choleric and churlish grammarian, when asked whether he had used *contiones* correctly as a translation of the Greek *δημιγορία*: "There is absolutely no hope left of anything good, when even you distinguished philosophers care for nothing save words and the authority of words. . . . You philosophers are nothing but *mortualia*, or 'winding-sheets' as Marcus Cato says; for you collect glossaries and word-lists, filthy, foolish, trifling things, like the dirges of female hired mourners. I could wish that all we mortals were dumb! For then dishonesty would lack its chief instrument!"³

Some may argue that the average pupil in a Cicero class is only mildly interested in etymological discussions. Even if that were true, though I think that it is only partly so, Gellius still has much to say about manners of dress and care of the person. His talk on the way Demosthenes and the orator Hortensius were taunted because of their foppishness and excessive attention to their personal appearance (i, 5) would go well with Cicero's arraignment of the same dudish propensities of Catiline's followers who wear long-sleeved tunics reaching to the heel (*In Cat.* ii, 10, 22) and flit about in the Forum, reeking with pungent perfumes and conspicuous in their gay purple clothes (*In Cat.* ii, 3, 5). In connection with this arraignment might be read Gellius' discussion of the question why Sallust said avarice renders effeminate not only a manly soul but also the very body itself (iii, 1). Catiline's

³ xviii, 7. Trans. by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library.

followers Cicero also shames for shaving their beards or for trimming them in fine fashion (*In Cat.* II, 10, 22). Gellius states that he was surprised that Publius Scipio Africanus, when under accusation by a tribune, also shaved his beard (III, 4). And in contrast Gellius later gives an excellent description of a gentleman and scholar, said to have been written by Ennius with himself in mind (XII, 4). This, too, would be an appropriate reference in the reading of the oration for Archias. Finally, we have an exposition on what the well-dressed senator should wear. We are told that he should not go through the streets of the city in sandals and wearing a tunic and a cloak. He should wear a toga, girdle, and mantle (XIII, 21).

Aside from these matters which we have mentioned as important for the teaching of third year Latin, the *Attic Nights* is worth reading for other reasons. One is for the comments on procedure in the Roman senate. Abbott⁴ refers to Gellius no fewer than twenty-six times. Among these one of the most important concerns the order observed in calling upon senators for their opinions. This is seen in an altercation between Caesar, as consul, and Marcus Cato, senator, who tried to use up the whole day in talk (IV, 10). Another gives information on the rights and duties of the Roman public officials, such as the tribunes of the people (XIII, 12). Other points are that aediles and quaestors might be summoned by a private citizen to appear before the praetor (XIII, 13; 15; 16); whether a prefect can convene the senate (XIV, 8), and methods of conducting meetings in the senate (XIV, 7). In short, selections seven and eight in Book XIV constitute a small handbook on parliamentary practice.

There are other passages more interesting to high school students. There is a criticism and defense of a speech made by a Roman censor advising the Romans to undertake marriage and its obligations. He quotes a certain writer who read a speech "On Marriage," as follows:

⁴ Frank Frost Abbott, *History and Description of Roman Political Institutions*³: New York, Ginn and Co. (1911), 150-265, "The Descriptive Side of the Republican Period."

If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them nor at all without them, we must take thought for our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure for the moment.⁵

A little later Gellius discourses on the patience with which Socrates endured his wife's shrewish disposition (I, 17).

As we have shown before, the *Attic Nights* is full of dissertations on etymologies and linguistic peculiarities, some of them witty and entertaining, such as that on the etymology of *fur*, thief (I, 18). In his oration *Pro Archia*, Cicero speaks of the spoils of war being dedicated to the Muses (*ille . . . non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare*, XI, 27). Gellius devotes six and one-half pages to discussing the meaning of *manubiae* (XIII, 24). Just to illustrate Gellius' ability as an interesting story-teller — he says that he with some other men, scholars of repute, was gazing at the gilded statues of horses and representatives of military standards located along the roof of the colonnades of Trajan's Forum, underneath which was written *ex manubiis*. One of the men asked what the *ex manubiis* really meant. Another said that it was equivalent to *ex praeda*. But another quoted Cicero to the effect that it could not be so, and after a long discussion in which much Greek was bandied about in illustration, we gather that *ex manubiis* does not designate the objects and the mass of booty itself but that, in the case of statues, they were made and procured "from the manubiae," that is, from the money collected by such means by a quaestor of the Roman people, the prefect of the Roman treasury.

We need not tarry to discuss Gellius' accuracy in computing the age of Cicero when he delivered his oration in defense of Sextus Roscius (xv, 28), but members of a Cicero class who had arrived in their reading at that passage in the *Fourth Catilinarian* where Cicero discusses the purposes of capital punishment (*In Cat.* iv, 4, 8) would find interesting the three reasons given by philosophers for punishing crimes (vii, 14). And in the several statements in the *Poet Archias* about the wide dissemination of

⁵ I, 6. Transl. by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library.

Greek literature and learning (III, 4; III, 5; VI, 14; VIII, 19; and IX, 20 and 23 f.), it would certainly be worth while to read them Gellius' accounts of who first established a public library and how many books were in the public library at Athens before the Persian invasion (VII, 17). And in connection with this it might be well to tell the class how Marcus Cato rebuked a Roman for writing history in the Greek language (XI, 8), reminding us that in Cato's time the people were exhorted to "Buy Roman." Moreover, when the class in composition complains of the difficulty of finding the right word or phrase, especially in the translation of English abstract words, one could recount Gellius' explanation of the difficulty of turning certain Greek words into Latin (XI, 16); also the many varieties of the meaning of *quin* (XVII, 13).

The *Attic Nights* can contribute much also for the Vergil class. For the spelling of *ahena* for *aena*, *harundo* for *arundo*, and *harena* for *arena*, not to mention many others, Gellius gives the reasons why the early Romans inserted the aspirate h in certain verbs and nouns (II, 3). Here the teacher should have ready Catullus' delightfully satiric epigram on Arrius' sounding of his h's.⁶ Then we have a lengthy discussion of the names of the different winds so often referred to in the *Aeneid*, such as Auster, Notus, Africus, Aquilo (II, 22); Roman names for colors and their etymological significance (II, 26); a discussion concerning the constellation which the Romans called *septentriones* (II, 21); another interesting dissertation of considerable length on the proper meaning of *religiosus* and the changes that the meaning of the word has undergone (IV, 9). Gellius also defends Vergil's use of ellipsis in *Aeneid* VII, 187, which may be paralleled by *Aeneid* III, 618; V, 372; V, 401 (V, 8).

In the ninth selection in Book IX we may read a delightful treatise on the art of translating Greek into Latin, involving Vergil's translation of the *Idylls* of Theocritus in his *Eclogues*. In this selection Gellius takes up also the matter of those verses in Homer which Vergil is thought to have translated well or unsuccessfully. He tells us what a certain reputable scholar thought

⁶ Cat. LXXXIV.

of the verses of Vergil in which he imitated the poet Pindar⁷ in his description of the eruption of Mt. Aetna (xvii, 10). This is an important selection to introduce when the class has reached Vergil's description in *Aeneid* III, 570-87, together with that of Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Bound* (353 ff.), for the learned scholar is quoted by Gellius as speaking of Vergil's

*erigit eructans liquefactaque saxa sub auras
cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo* (576 f.)

as the most monstrous of all monstrous descriptions. Further, we have errors in Roman history which a certain Roman scholar noted in Vergil's Sixth *Aeneid* (x, 16) and a far from prosaic discussion of the question why sheep used in sacrifices are called *bidentes* (xvi, 6).

Numerous sacrificial scenes in the *Aeneid* make pertinent Gellius' description of the ceremonies of the priest and priestess of Jupiter (x, 15). In this are repeated the words from the praetor's edict in which he declares that he will not compel either the priest of Jupiter or a priestess of Vesta to take an oath. The taboos placed in the way of the priest well remind us of the taboo on iron as well as other requirements in the ritual performed by the priestess of the Massylian race hired by Dido to get ready her funeral pyre (*Aen.* iv, 509-16). In this connection some inquisitive member of the class may ask whether the Romans really believed that their seers could foretell coming events. Gellius does not commit himself but tells us that the battle which Caesar fought against Pompey on the plains of Pharsalus during the Civil War was announced on the very same day at Patavium in Italy and Caesar's victory foretold by the divination of a seer (xv, 18).

And when your Vergil class has reached the banquet scene in the first *Aeneid* (637-42; 697-756) and the Latin Club committee is about your desk in consultation concerning the banquet which you usually hold in December or in May, the meeting will start off well if you tell them what Gellius has to say about how few

⁷ Pindar, *Pyth.* i, 25-55.

and how many people should be accommodated at a banquet, whether they should sit or recline, whether talkative or silent guests should be invited, and whether those invited should talk about funerals or about happier subjects, and just how sweet the sweetmeats (*bellaria*) should be (XIII, 11).

Teachers of Vergil who know astronomy — and a knowledge of that subject is worth much in either high school or college teaching of Latin — always like to meet a line like that in the first *Aeneid*,

Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones (744)

and tell the class about the twelve constellations that comprise the zodiac and the first magnitude stars, Arcturus included. But Gellius records how Tullius Tiro, pupil and freedman of Cicero's and an assistant in his literary work, states that the Romans called the stars in the head of the constellation Taurus *Suculae*, or "The Little Pigs," because the Greeks called them ὑάδες and the Romans thought that ὑάδες came from ὕεσ, which corresponded to *sues* in Latin. But the word, Gellius says, is derived from the Greek ὕειν "to rain." Then Gellius proceeds to excuse the apparent ignorance of the early Romans and gives us a convincing explanation of the constellations of the Bull and the Pleiades (XIII, 9).

We can give only passing attention to the few remaining selections of Gellius worth using in the classroom. Students of Caesar would always be interested in the cipher letters found in the letters of Caesar and other secret forms of writing taken from ancient history. This matter will be found to be a real contribution to means for stimulating the interest of students (XVII, 10). And two selections involving adages compel attention. In an interesting account of the Roman historical period from Homer's time down to the Second War with Carthage, Gellius manages to slip in the well-known verse, attributed to Menander and applied to the orator Demosthenes who, seeking safety in flight from the battlefield, replied to someone taunting him for the fact, ἀνὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται ("The man who runs away will fight

again") (xvii, 21). And the original of our English version, "There's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip," may have been in vogue since written language began, because Cato in his oration *On the Improper Election of Aediles* said that many things may come *inter os atque offam*, and this Latin proverb is supposed to have been derived from an old Greek saying, according to Sulpicius Apollinaris, πολλὰ μετὰξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρου "Twixt cup and lip there's many a slip."

Aulus Gellius in his *Attic Nights* unquestionably furnishes a greater amount and variety of interesting material for discussion in a high school Latin class than any other author. For that reason we have presented his work in detail. But there are other authors worth considering. There is Lucan, who died in his twenty-sixth year in 65 A.D. He wrote an epic in ten books, once called the *Pharsalia*, now the *Civil War*. Compared with the *Aeneid* it is not a great epic, but Shelley is said to have preferred it to the *Aeneid*, and Macaulay, who read the poem through repeatedly, said that he knew no declamation in the world, not even Cicero's best, that equaled some passages in the *Pharsalia*. He referred to the enumeration of Pompey's exploits (viii, 806-22) and Cato's character of Pompey (ix, 190-203). Macaulay admits the imperfections of the poem, citing such extravagant passages as the sea-fight at Marseilles (iii, 583-762), the centurion who is covered with wounds (vi, 138-262), and the snakes in the Libyan desert (ix, 700-889). But the story fits in well with Caesar's own *Civil War*, and passages both beautiful and blood-curdling would interest a class. Two particularly good parts are the description of Pompey's last night before the fatal battle of Pharsalus (vii, 7-27) and that in which Cato, the Stoic, refuses to consult the oracle of Jupiter Hammon (ix, 566-84).

Teachers of Vergil, above all others, should command a substantial background through outside reading. They should know their *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a matter of course, preferably in the original, but at least through the famous translations of Lang, Leaf and Myers, and Butcher and Lang, respectively, published by the Macmillan Company, or those of A. T. Murray, almost as

good, included in the Loeb Classical Library. But they should be familiar with two other writers of epics, between whom Vergil stood nearly midway in point of time, Apollonius Rhodius, who wrote the *Argonautica*, a story of the expedition of Jason and his companions to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, and Quintus Smyrnaeus who continued the events of the Iliad by *The Fall of Troy*. Apollonius lived in the third century B.C. and it was probably from his work that Vergil derived his description of the love of Dido in the Fourth Aeneid. This is well translated from the Greek by R. C. Seaton in the Loeb Classical Library. The work is full of expressions that sound like Vergil's and abounds in those delightful literary extravagances that characterized the works of the Alexandrine writers.

Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Fall of Troy* is even more Vergilian. Whole books are devoted to episodes with which Vergil students are familiar. The account in Book I of how Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, died for Troy is particularly appropriate. The class would enjoy the description of the contest between Achilles and Penthesilea (vss. 538-674), especially the lines depicting the scene of the queen's death:

Yea, and Achilles' very heart was wrung
With love's remorse to have slain a thing so sweet,
Who might have borne her home, his queenly bride,
To chariot-glorious Phthia; for she was
Flawless, a very daughter of the Gods,
Divinely tall, and most divinely fair. (Trans. by A. S. Way)

Then there is a book, the second, which deals with the circumstances of Memnon, Son of the Dawn, and his struggles and fall in battle in behalf of Troy. The twelfth book describes how the wooden horse was fashioned and brought into Troy. Book XIII describes the sack of Troy and the fourteenth book tells how the conquerors sailed away from the city and were shipwrecked. There are other passages appropriate to be read to a class. In short, every lover of the *Aeneid* will cherish a volume of Quintus Smyrnaeus' work on his shelf.

I have mentioned the works of Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid,

Catullus, Horace, Sallust, Pliny the Younger, to be read in the original, and those of Aulus Gellius, Lucan, Apollonius Rhodius, and Quintus Smyrnaeus in translation as background material for the teacher. I would add to these that master epic, Dante's *Inferno*, from which comes quite as much reflection of the *Aeneid* as in the *Aeneid* there is reflection of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. When the class reaches the sixth *Aeneid*, or when the book is nearly finished, it will be found an interesting diversion if each pupil will take a canto, or a number of cantos, and give before the class a careful resumé, correlating the events as far as possible with those in the *Aeneid*. Carey's translation, illustrated by Gustave Doré (New York, Cassell and Company), is a good work.

Lucretius was a contemporary of Cicero, having been born about seven years after and dying about seven years before the great orator of Arpinum. Vergil thus was a young man of twenty when Lucretius died and must have been much impressed by the latter's didactic poem, *De Rerum Natura*. Vergil's exposition of the origin of matter and the soul (*Aen.* vi, 724-51) and Ovid's treatment of the same subject (*Met.* i, 416-37) need considerable elucidation. The Latin teacher would do well to read this poem (translated in the Loeb Classical Library) and use the material in explanation of Vergil's work. Especially to be recommended are the invocation (i, 1-28), the human longing for immortality in the famous Death passage (iii, 895-911), and the account of primitive man (v, 925-1120, 1241-99, and 1350-1457). Of the invocation Dora Pym⁸ says: "There is no more magnificent piece of music in the whole of Latin poetry than this invocation, in which the roll of an organ is mingled with the song of birds." And in the account of primitive man, it is a commonplace that Lucretius anticipated by about a score of centuries the results of later scientific research.

In every Caesar and Cicero class there are several history-minded pupils. Our modern second-year books abound in excerpts from Livy which, though adapted, are not always free

⁸ *The Literature of Ancient Rome*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1925), 75.

from dulness and difficulties. These obstacles could be more easily obviated if other stories were recounted in English. Suetonius' account of the lives of the Caesars, particularly of Julius and Augustus, are worth the teacher's attention. There are also many excellent anecdotes sprinkled through the works of Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus, of Dion Cassius and Polybius and Plutarch. A generous reading of these works will quickly convince the routine-bound Latin teacher that Catiline was not the only political rascal that romped across the ancient stage, that Caesar not alone led forces to storm ramparts and walls, and that the ancients were not without their human weaknesses and depravities as well as their glorious virtues.

And I believe also that the average teacher of Latin needs to read a little each week in books that are not so intimately related to his work, books for inspiration as well as for information. I would particularly recommend Stobart's two books, *The Glory That Was Greece* and *The Grandeur That Was Rome*,⁹ because they deal with the historical, literary, political, private, and esthetic phases of Greek and Roman life. The so-called "influence" books in the series, "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" are especially good because they are short, concise, nontechnical, and correlate classical studies with phases of English works. I believe that every teacher of Latin should read not only the ancient plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence in the translations made by those experts, Smyth, Storr, Murray, Miller, Rogers, Nixon, and Sargeaunt, respectively, but he should also read books written by expert commentators about them, such as Flickinger's *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*^{*} (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1926), Norwood's *Greek Tragedy* (London, Methuen and Co., 1920), Bailey's *Legacy of Rome* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923). For compact information in readable essay form on Roman administration, communications and commerce, law, religion and philosophy, science, literature, language, architecture and art, engineering and agricul-

⁹ London, Sedgwick and Jackson (1915 and 1925).

ture, he should read Walter's *Art of the Romans* (New York, Macmillan, 1911), a book of mammoth proportions but easy to read, and Fowler's *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909), a detailed account of Roman life among rich and poor, of business, marriage and women, holidays, amusements, and religion.

Finally, I think that we should read widely in books that will give us something more than what we get in the orthodox type of books bearing on the subject why high-school pupils should study Latin. It is good, but not enough, to read such books as *The Value of the Classics* (Princeton University Press, 1917, now out of print) and Livingstone's *A Defense of Classical Education* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916). For my own part, I am strongly attracted to such books as Mustard's *Classical Echoes in Tennyson* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904), in which the poet's classical expressions are shown to be reflections from as many as a dozen of the most prominent writers in Greek literature and as many in the field of Latin; and Elizabeth Nitchie's *Vergil and the English Poets* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1916), an extensive research work in which the works of Vergil are reflected in English poetry. Through books like these we unconsciously arm ourselves to become effective defenders of the faith. For, after all, the most convincing kind of propaganda is teaching made efficient by a great store of rich, illustrative background material. Our arguments cannot be weak if our teaching is strong.

We are living in an unhappy decline in our economic life. We run in great danger, through discouragement, of staying in or slipping back into the ruts from which we had promised ourselves we would soon emerge and stay. The remedy for all this, it seems to me, is the expenditure of greater, not less energy. And the best channel into which to direct this energy is that concerned with outside reading of classical literature.

A NEGLECTED TRANSLATION OF THE *ILIAD*

By CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES
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My subject is the hexameter translation of the *Iliad* by J. Henry Dart, the first twelve books of which were published in 1862, the complete work in 1865.¹ Like Walter Leaf, Prentice Cummings, and H. B. Cotterill after him, its author was not a scholar by profession but one of those practical minds for whom Homer seems to have an especial attraction — a barrister, Counsel to the Court of Chancery, whose *Compendium of the Law and Practise of Vendors* was on the way to becoming the standard treatise on the subject. But eminent lawyer as he was, it was his to remember that twenty-four years earlier at Oxford he had won the Newdigate prize for poetry of his year; and perhaps he hoped the Muse had never really deserted him in those long years.

Nor had she. His translation has merits that hold their own even with the modern reader, in spite of the changes of standard brought about by the passage of seventy years — a long time in literary fashions.

Apart from Hawtrey's translation of Homeric passages there were at that time before the reading public three well-known examples of the use of the English hexameter: Longfellow's *Evangeline*, Clough's *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, and Kingsley's *Andromeda*. Longfellow had delighted the reading public, Clough's work was regarded with respect by the critics, but it was Kingsley that fired Dart to attempt his hexameter version of the *Iliad*. He might, had he looked for precept rather than example, have found it in the famous lectures of the professor of poetry at Oxford *On Translating Homer*. Matthew Arnold published the first three lectures in 1861, the year before Dart issued

¹ London, Longmans, Green, and Co. (1865).

the first half of his translation of the *Iliad*. Dart's work was already out when, in 1862, Matthew Arnold brought out his next lecture on the subject, *Last Words*, in which volume he tossed at Dart in a footnote the one single word "meritorious."

Dart's work *was* meritorious but it was more than merely that. Readable and fairly exact, it reproduces a not too faint echo of the Homeric music. Its defects were those of the taste of the day — although in one particular, its choice of meter, it challenged that taste. Matthew Arnold had in his lectures to deal with a well-established general dislike to the hexameter. The dislike was not confined to the English — Klopstock and Voss had had to overcome it in Germany. Goethe tells us he so feared his father's wrath that it was only in secret he dared to learn and recite Klopstock's hexameter *Messiah*. Tennyson still talked of the English hexameters as a "burlesque barbarous experiment." Dart himself speaks in 1865 of the very many "who now entertain a sense of dislike to this metre." Walter Leaf mentions "the prejudice against hexameters existing in some minds."

In fact not only were examples few at that time, but it is only since then that the whole technique of hexameter translation has been slowly built up. Matthew Arnold laid the foundation, indeed, in his first lectures — all that Dart had to guide him for the first half of his work. And there the Professor of Poetry established but a few meager precepts. The translator must not, e.g., follow Longfellow, who is "tenderly elegant," which Homer is not, and at his worst, "lumbering" through using too many dactyls. He must learn to use spondees freely, he must choose a combination of quantity and accent for "it would be pedantic not to avail ourselves of the great predominance of accent in our language." However, we "rely on justification by accent with a security which is excessive." Arnold warns against removing the accent from its natural place to an unnatural one. The famous passage from Hawtrey, Helen's speech about her brothers, which Arnold quotes, illustrates these theories fairly well despite such spondees as, (They) *rest in* (ships). But Matthew Arnold himself does the strangest things! "Sees thy tears," as a dactyl; "fires" and

"ours" as spondees justify Leaf's description of his examples of English hexameters as so poor alike in diction and in rhythm that they could easily be held up as models of what English verse ought not to be.

If the modern reader is struck by the translation by Hawtrey of τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φύσιζος αἶα, "they long since in Earth's soft arms were reposing," it must be remembered that such insistence as George Herbert Palmer's upon being "at once minutely faithful to the Greek original and keeping out of sight the fact that either an original or a translation exists," is a modern idea and at that day unfamiliar, at least in its present stringency. Matthew Arnold indeed mentions fidelity to the original but speaks of lack of fidelity as of a comparatively minor offense. "Has Chapman's version," he asks in effect, "no other and deeper defect than the want of literal faithfulness?" and he lauds the scholar who demands but one thing in a translation, i.e. that it shall reproduce for him the *general effect* of Homer. Dart then is not singular for his time when he speaks of *adequate* fidelity to the original and practises what is implied. In his later lecture Matthew Arnold gives his supposititious translator more detailed advice. Discussing the dispute of J. Spedding and Munroe on the subject of quantity and accent, he suggests that the translator "must temper his belief in Mr. Munroe's dictum that quantity may be utterly discarded by mixing with it a belief in the other dictum of the same author that two or more consonants take a longer time in enunciation than one." He justifies against Spedding, contrary to his previous warning, an *occasional* shift of the accent as in his own lines: "Between that and the ships"; and "There sat fifty men." It is true that just below he objects to Longfellow's

In that delightful land which is washed by the Delaware's waters.

Can any ordinary ear mark the difference? In the note containing these criticisms Arnold adds that the blemish of Dart's recent meritorious version of the *Iliad* is that it contains too many such lines as Longfellow's.

Dart himself added his quota to the outline of criticism estab-

lished by Matthew Arnold when he remarks of his hesitating attempt at keeping the Greek accent in proper names:

The antithetical arrangement of the original and the continual embodiment of separate images in separate lines or couplets or even portions of lines can never be adequately represented by a translation which admits systematically of a breaking up and fusion of the ideas of the great poet.

This retention of the Greek accent was, he says, the prominent ground of objection to his version, but further consideration, aided by the light of criticism, convinced him that as a rule the effect of such retention is unpleasing. He eliminated it from the first twelve books and avoided it in the last. A later and more skillful translator, Cotterill, not only does not regard it as a defect but makes a point of it and gives a list of words with the Greek quantities marked.

It was, however, two later translators who really codified the laws to guide the practice of English hexameter verse. Prentice Cummings, who in 1910² translated the *Iliad* with large omissions, dwells upon the importance of making accents mark, though they cannot make, the *time* in English lines. He sets up two infallible rules: First, that every foot must begin with an accented syllable; second, that the several feet properly read must, within the laws of English versification, keep time. The difficulty of the first law he says is only very great in the first foot of the line, but is there so difficult "that there is no modern hexameter of which I am aware wherein the law is adhered to rigidly." He adheres to that law, he says, at any sacrifice and has made some not to his liking. His translation shows an immense advance upon those of his predecessors in its regard for quantity and pause. His dactyls are for the most part true. The few blemishes are in the spondees, in the use of such words as "and," "but," "the," and the termination *ly* for their second half, and there is an occasional strangeness in the caesura as in:

All of the maidens wore fair coronets: each of the youths too,
where the author is presumably illustrating his use of the frequent *pause* in English.

² Boston, Little, Brown, and Co.

The latest practitioner of the hexameter, H. B. Cotterill, translator of the *Odyssey*,³ of whom Walter Leaf says that he honestly thinks his imitation of the Homeric hexameter is quite as good as Vergil's, sets himself still stricter laws: The stressed syllables should be long (or heavy) in pronunciation or when somewhat short (or light) should be weighted with meaning and make one pause to think. The true spondee should be used, not the trochee in its place. He sets a new standard for "short" syllables — quite his own. The shorts should not only be short and light, but never so weighted with meaning as to make the reader pause to think. And Cotterill follows his own prescription admirably on the whole. False dactyls are not absolutely lacking, witness such dactyls as: "bedsteads with", "converse to-gether", "woo her whose"; and there is the occasional use of "and" as the second syllable of a spondee. But Cotterill's technique is an advance upon all that went before.

J. S. Dart did not have the advantage of such long-drawn-out development of technique, and could only in his second half profit by the more precise prescriptions of Matthew Arnold's second volume (and fourth lecture). Consequently the use of short or light for long syllables and of long or heavy for short is far commoner than with his successors, although less frequent than in Matthew Arnold's examples. He seems not to have concerned himself about quantity in English but to have relied upon accent entirely, as Mr. Newman recommends. All he speaks of in his Preface is the importance of using hexameters. His ear and taste guided him, however, and his light spondees and heavy dactyls are much less distressing than might be supposed. Dart states in his Preface that, having no idea of publishing when he began, his first book may still be as a whole less close as a translation and less regular in rhythm than the subsequent books — and he is right in saying so.

I venture to illustrate with three brief passages which seem to me to show Dart at his best. I have chosen them partly for the sake of comparison. The first is the passage so admired by Mat-

³ London, G. J. Harrap and Co. (1911).

threw Arnold in Hawtrey's translation as the most successful attempt hitherto made at rendering Homer into English.

Then did again, in reply, speak Helen, fairest of women:
 "Ajax the great is he — mighty bulwark of all the Achaïans! —
 There, on the other side, is Idomeneus, circled by Cretans,
 Standing, firm as a God; — Crete's leaders clustering round him.
 Often the prince was the guest of the Arès-loved Menelaus,
 In what once was my home, when he journey'd from Crete to the mainland.

More, many more, do I see, of the dark-eyed sons of Achaïa;
 Chieftains whom I have known, and could number by name and in order;
 Yet are there two I discern not, 'mid all of the heads of the people;
 Castor, tamer of steeds; Polydeuces, famed for the cestus!
 Brothers are they of mine; whole-brothers; one mother hath borne us.
 Either they came not here, from thy beautiful vale, Lacedaemon!
 Or, if they follow'd the war, in the sea-tracking sides of their galleys,
 Now they abandon the field, and secede from the strife of the valiant;
 All unable to bear the disgrace and shame that attend me."

Thus did she speak: but the life-giving Earth held the forms of her brothers,

Deep in thy vale, Lacedaemon! the much-loved land of their fathers.

[III, 228-44]

They, all flush'd with hope, near the corpse-piled ridges of battle,
 Pass'd thro' the livelong night: — their watch-fires sprinkled the darkness.
 As when the moon shines full in the sky; — and in glory, around her,
 Glitter the stars of heaven; — no breezes to ruffle the stillness; —
 But, in the calm clear light, long ranges of hills, and of headlands,
 Forests, and all, stand out; — and the pure bright aether above them
 Deepens, as star glimmers out upon star; — and the shepherd rejoices:
 Not less thick in the space 'mid the fleet and the stream of the Xanthus
 Glimmer'd the watch-fire lights of the Trojans fronting the city.
 There were a thousand bales burning bright on the plain — and from
 each bale

Flicker'd the light on the armor of combatants fifty around it.
 Champing the pulse and barley, in long rows waited the chargers,
 Tether'd beside their cars, and expected the Morn on her bright throne.

[VIII, 553-65]

Meanwhile, afar from the fight, the immortal steeds of Achilleus
 Wept their fallen lord, from the moment they saw him disabled,
 Stretch'd in the dust, and slain by the hand of the murderous Hector.
 Vainly Automedon strove — the redoubtable son of Diore —

Strove to induce them to move; now using the lash; now resorting
 Unto endearing words, now to curses alike unavailing.
 Nor would the steeds move back in retreat to the stream of the Ocean,
 Wide Hellespont, nor advance to the war with the other Achaïans.
 But as a pillar raised on the tomb of a notable hero,
 Or of a woman renown'd, stands motionless aye on the same place,
 Thus the immortal steeds stood motionless under the war-car,
 Bowing their manes to the dust; and the big round drops from their eye-
 lids
 Chased one another down, falling warm in the dust; as they grieved for
 Their great driver's death: — all disorder'd and soiled were their bright
 manes,
 Hanging on either side, all neglectedly, over the yoke-band:
 Them, as they stood and wept, saw Zeus; and, with pity beholding,
 Bow'd his immortal head, and thus inwardly spake his emotion.
 "Why, ill-fated steeds! did we ever bestow you on Peleus,
 Mortal prince — yourselves exempted from death and from old-age?
 Was it, that ye might share the affliction of sorrowful mortals?
 For there is nothing that flies, or that crawls o'er the face of the wide
 earth,
 Nothing of all that lives, more deserving of pity than man is."

[xvii, 426-47]

Passages which will satisfy the exacting reader are many, and
 to read the whole is to hear as satisfactory an echo of Homer
 as I know of except Cotterill's translation of the *Odyssey*. Indeed
 Dart's is, so far as I am aware, the *only* complete hexameter trans-
 lation of the *Iliad*. But it is lost in the limbo of "out of print" only
 to be come upon in museums and libraries. It may be added that
 Prentice Cummings' admirable translation of the outline of the
Iliad is on the way to being lost in the same manner.

Both really should be saved by reprinting for those who, not
 reading the original, would still like to be acquainted with Homer
 as nearly in his own manner as can be compassed.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

THE "NICEAN BARKS" OF EDGAR ALLAN POE

Helen, thy beauty is to me
Like those Nicean barks of yore,
That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,
The weary, way-worn wanderer bore
Unto his native shore.

The allusion in these well-known lines of Poe's *To Helen* has long been a subject of conjecture, and, so far as I have been able to discover, no explanation yet proposed has been generally accepted. The various interpretations are thus summed up by Professor Killis Campbell:¹

(a) That of W. P. Trent, who suggests that "the weary, way-worn wanderer" is Ulysses and that "Nicean" is somehow intended to represent "Phaeacian."

(b) That of C. W. Kent, who suggests that the "Nicean barks" mean the ships of Alexander the Great.

(c) That of F. V. N. Painter, who sees in the epithet "Nicean" a reference to the ancient town of Nicaea, now Nice, in France.

(d) That of W. M. Rossetti, who interprets "Nicean" as a misspelling for "Nyseian" and suggests that we have an allusion to the Greek god Dionysus and the island of Nysa.

There is still another theory, that "Nicean" is a direct coinage by Poe from the Greek word *Nike*, victory, and that "victorious barks" is the true meaning of the phrase.²

¹ *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*: Boston, Ginn and Co. (1917), 201.

² Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man*: Chicago, John C. Winston Co. (1926), 395, quotes this as the view of Thomas O. Mabbott, expressed in *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1920. But this latter source shows no discussion of the word at all.

But none of these explanations has gained general acceptance, and the scholarly world has apparently been content to leave the passage unexplained, feeling that the poem is so exquisitely beautiful that no great harm is done if we do not understand every word in it. Clement Wood has put it this way: "The reason may with reason protest the Nicean barks, with the seacoast of Bohemia; it may demand the location of the perfumed sea; but that beauty-loving flower of man's body that we call the soul is satisfied."³

If it is permissible to reopen the question, I should like to suggest that perhaps this passage in Poe may be a reminiscence of his Latin studies and particularly of the poet Catullus. There is nothing inherently improbable in this, for Poe was a good Latin scholar in his earlier years as well as at the university; cf. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 194 and 242. Among the better known poems of Catullus, outside the Lesbia cycle, are several which pertain to his travels in the East, his return home, and his joy in that return. He had gone to Bithynia as a member of the staff of the governor, Memmius, and had spent a year or so there. It was not a pleasant year. He had had some hopes of replenishing his own private fortunes, as so many Romans did in the provinces. These were not realized: he says humorously in one place (x) that the governor himself was such a grafter that conditions were quite hopeless for his subordinates. His travels also included a visit to the tomb of his dearly loved brother in the Troad, a visit which was evidently a severe strain upon him but to which we owe one of the most tenderly beautiful poems in Latin (ci). When the time of his stay was up and he could start for home, he was one of the happiest of men (xlvi).

Now the soft warmth of spring returns, and the equinoctial storms give way to the pleasant Zephyrs. Let us leave the Phrygian plains, Catullus, and the fertile fields of hot Nicaea: let us make haste to the famous cities of Asia. Already my heart trembles with anticipation to be gone, already my feet grow strong with joyous eagerness.

Catullus made the journey home in a vessel built of timber cut

³ *Poets of America*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1925), 21.

on the shores of the Black Sea. Carmen iv speaks of this journey and the speed and safety of the ship, which now rests in peaceful dedication to the Twin Brethren, patron deities of sailors.

And the joy with which this particular weary wanderer reached his native shore is vividly portrayed in another of Catullus's poems (xxxI):

O what greater happiness than to be set free from cares, when the heart lays aside its burden and wearied with toils in a foreign land we come to our own hearthstone and rest on the longed-for bed. This alone is reward enough for so great labors.

Without venturing to suggest that the matter can be proved conclusively, I would offer these references from the Latin as affording at least a possible explanation of the lines by Poe. Nicaea, which later gave its name to the Nicene Creed, was the capital of Bithynia, where presumably Catullus spent most of his time abroad; and "Nicean barks" may refer by a reasonable poetic extension to vessels built in that country, in one of which vessels Catullus did return, as a weary, way-worn wanderer, to his own native shore. One may thus avoid assuming that Poe spoiled an otherwise clear allusion by an ignorant or careless error in spelling or by the quite inexplicable substitution of *Nicean* for *Phaeacian*. And surely "those Nicean barks of yore" is too definite and specific an allusion not to have been intended to convey some meaning to the informed reader. Purely imaginary geography, like that of Lord Dunsany's delightful tales, cannot be in question here.

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A PHILOLOGIAN AMONG THE SCIENTISTS

In the matter of terminology alone the contribution of Greek and Latin to the sciences is tremendous. The technical language of science is derived almost entirely from these two languages. A recent syllabus, dealing with the science of biology and put in simplified form for practical purposes, still reads in many places

very much like a classical dictionary. Many of the terms are taken directly from the original without change: e.g., aquarium, habitat, terrarium, arbor vitae, thorax, algae, fungus, setae, bacillus, larvae, pupae; and many more with only slight modification.

Without his Greek and Latin terminology the scientist would be well-nigh helpless in his efforts to explain the content and purpose of his subject and the procedure in its study. Scientific magazines in the field of botany actually require as a prerequisite to the publication of articles that the technical description of botanical specimens be rendered in Latin. Besides the fact that Latin obviously serves as an international medium for scholars in the realm of science, the exactitude of the language no doubt constitutes a further recommendation for its use where the greatest degree of accuracy is both desired and necessary.

Not only does the scientist draw from Greek and Latin for his strictly technical terms, but his general vocabulary carries the classic stamp in an amazing degree. On one page of the syllabus in question — taken at random — are found the following words: animals, laboratory, biology, attention, creation, museum, specimens, sorts, insects, et cetera, preserved, mounting, preservatives, valuable, students, collecting, preparing, materials, director, association, large, natural, history, important, educational, institutions, considerable, influence, aggregate, community, developed, program, nature, study, activities, interest, collections, visual, form, pictures, references, syllabus, increasing, funds, illustrative, obtained, industrial, commercial, concerns, various, societies, science, and school.

The true scientist is quite ready to recognize his indebtedness to the classics and prefers to have his students trained first in Greek and Latin. But another recent syllabus, undertaking to deal somewhat scientifically — and so, technically — with the merits of the modern languages and, curiously enough, with the alleged demerits of the ancient languages, especially Greek, in the course of several spirited paragraphs, by way of enforcing the contentions set up, made use of the following list of Greek words: method, grammar, psychological, theory, practice, idea, phrase,

idiom, logically, categories, academicians, phonetic, characters, period, pedagogy, paradigms, syntax, aesthetic, mechanical, homoeopathic, criticism, decalogue, historical, economy, scholars, emphasis, synthetic, phenomena, programme, school, bibliography, mysteries, dialect, psychoanalysis, proselyting, antidote, sympathetic, phases, enthusiastic, criteria, schedules, phonograph, and thesis!!! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!

Smock's *The Greek Element in English Words*, edited by Percy W. Long,¹ is a signal commentary on the debt of English to Greek and of the influence of Greek on English vocabulary. President William Allen Neilson of Smith College says of it: "To the philologist and the scientist alike it will be a revelation and a convenience: a revelation because it displays with extraordinary fullness the debt of English to Greek — a debt immensely greater than has been suspected; a convenience because it makes available . . . the sources of whole families of English words and scientific terms, and conversely of the progeny in English of Greek terms. Both for the understanding and coining of technical terms it will be invaluable." The prospectus of the Smock-Long publication sets out these impressive facts: "The total of words of Greek origin in the [English] language is estimated at upwards of a million. . . . Familiar animal and plant names, the common words of church and school, the language of politics and trade, the terminology of the household — all the common varieties of English speech — are represented. . . . Modern scientific and technical terminology has contributed some 50,000 words to the collection, so new that they cannot yet be found in the dictionaries." Incidentally, this reads little like the obituary of a dead language!

Again, the very processes in the growth and development of language are scientific. Language is an organism. There is such a thing as the life history of words as well as of plants and animals. As Henry Drummond could speak of Natural Law in the Spiritual World, so it is both possible and instructive to point

¹ New York, Macmillan Co. (1931).

out the analogy between words on the one hand and flowers and insects on the other. In the growth of language the principles of assimilation, adaptation, selection, appropriation, development, and decay are as much operative as in plant and animal life. Highly organized languages like Greek and Latin, which have already passed through their cycles of growth and have been so well preserved, afford an excellent basis for comparison with the typical scientific processes. And thus throughout the large number of projects listed in the syllabus on biology points of contact with Latin and Greek may be made at almost every turn.

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AN ANCIENT GREEK LIMERICK?

Many will remember the amusing verses, ostensibly from Stobaeus(!), published (with due critical reservations) in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVIII (1933), 709:

Ἐπλιθος μὲν ἔγλυψε τὸ μνήμα
 Ἴν' εἴη αἰώνιον κτῆμα.
 Ἐλεγον δὲ πολῖται
 Καὶ πάντες ὁδῖται,
 ὦ παμμαρῳάτατον ὄημα.

I rather suspect that *Punch* has been fooling us again. I recall having seen in Hyde Park, London, in 1928 what struck me as a singularly graceless panel, serving as a "Hudson Memorial," the work of a certain Mr. Jacob Epstein. It represented Rima, a wood sprite in Mr. W. H. Hudson's *Green Mansions*, and aroused a good deal of criticism, mostly unfavorable, from the time of its erection in 1925. Ἐπλιθος is pretty clearly "Epstein," and ὄημα no less clearly stands for "Rima" (pronounced Reema, of course). If these conjectures have any merit, we need not bother to run up the heavy artillery of literary, linguistic, and metrical criteria.

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ANCIENT READING AND WRITING

It is a well-known fact that the ancient Greek normally read out loud or at least formed the sounds of the words mentally. The combinations of letters on the page before him indicated not meanings but sounds which had to be pronounced or at least imagined before their sense was conveyed to the mind.¹ It is also well known that in Greek writing there were no divisions between words. However, I have never seen these two facts brought into their obvious relationship.

If, as seems to be the case in modern reading, the written word conveys its meaning directly to the mind without the intermediate process, the word is the unit and word division must be indicated in writing. Furthermore, such division is essential for any sort of reading of a language where the spelling is not phonetic. On the other hand, in oral reading, as in spoken language in general, the word is not a unit. The syllable is a recognizable unit, and a series of syllables makes up a phrase containing an indeterminate number of words, but the individual word does not exist as a unit of sound. It follows that for oral reading of a language where the spelling is phonetic and where syllable division follows definite rules operating regardless of word divisions, the indication of word endings is a matter of little importance. I do not mean to suggest that the fact that reading was oral caused the continuous method of writing, but merely that it made it possible. It may have been due originally to other causes, such as the high cost of writing materials or an aesthetic desire for a uniformly covered page, but it could hardly have continued for centuries, had reading been other than oral. The Roman, who read as did the Greek, regularly indicated word divisions in his writing. It is just possible that the recessive accent of early Latin falling uniformly on the initial syllable of every word may have influenced the method of writing.

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¹ Cf. G. L. Hendrickson, "Ancient Reading," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxv (1929), 182-96, and the references there given. *Philologus* lxxxv (1929), 111 f.

APROPOS OF THE PHRASE *TOUT LE MONDE*

The word *mundus* means both "the world" and "the inhabitants of the world." The earliest known example of the latter meaning is Horace, *Satirae* 1, 3, 112: *fastos . . . evolvere mundi*. Another example is Lucan v, 469: *miseri . . . spes irrita mundi*. In *Harpers' Latin Dictionary* this use of the word *mundus* is said to be poetical.

By the time of Seneca, the philosopher, the second meaning was doubtless well established, since in a striking sentence which contains *mundus* in the sense of "world" he employs *omnis mundus* to signify "all mankind," "everybody": *Pusilla res mundus est nisi in illo quod quaerat omnis mundus habeat*; ¹ "The world is a very small place unless there is in it a subject for everybody to investigate."

I doubt whether any earlier example of the use of *omnis mundus* in this sense can be found.² The expression seems worthy of notice because it suggests the French use of *tout le monde* with a similar signification. It shows incidentally that *omnis*³ might have contended with *totus* for the right to be yoked with *monde* in the French phrase.

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

¹ *Naturales Quaestiones* vii, 31, 5.

² It is unfortunate for this note that the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has not yet reached the word *mundus*.

³ In v, 496 Lucretius uses *omnis* with *mundus* in reference to the physical world; in v, 477, 596, 828, and 834 he has *totus*.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Missouri. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

J. HOLLAND ROSE, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*: Cambridge, University Press (1933). Pp. xi + 154. \$2.25.

The author of this book is Vere Harmsworth, Professor of Naval History and Fellow of Christ's College in the University of Cambridge. He writes, therefore, as an outstanding authority on naval affairs. The book contains six main chapters: I. The Mediterranean as the nursery for navigation (1-32); II. Graeco-Phoenician rivalries (33-66) and Note on Artemisium and Salamis (66-70); III. The Punic-Roman struggle for Sicily (71-97) and Note on the *corvus* (97-98); IV. Roman supremacy in the Western Mediterranean (99-120); V. Roman supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean (121-150); VI. The Mediterranean empire and its influence (151-176) and Note on references to the sea in Roman literature (177).

Mr. Rose does not attempt to write a complete naval history. He reveals the natural advantages which early man possessed in his efforts to conquer the sea. He describes also the outstanding points in the development and the improvement of the ship. Furthermore, he emphasizes topographical factors, pointing out the importance of the command of the straits of the Hellespont and Messina. He adds that "the supremacy of Rome was assured by her firm grip of those key positions, which others had neglected or toyed with loosely." Here for the first time the extent to which Roman influence rested on her control of the sea is set forth adequately. Students of Roman history have said much about the importance of Roman roads in furthering Roman civilization,

while they have overlooked the contribution of the Roman fleets in this regard. Mr. Rose shows conclusively that the Roman Empire depended just as much on its fleets as on its roads. If it is permissible to mention details in a brief notice, the reviewer wishes to state that he feels that Mr. Rose is justified in rejecting Dr. Tarn's assertion (*Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, p. 149) that the *corvus* is a mere myth. The "Note on references to the sea in Roman literature" is disappointing because of its brevity. In justice to the author, however, it must be said that he has aimed to select only some characteristic references for the nonspecialist reader with no attempt at completeness.

This is a valuable and authoritative book. It should interest both the specialist and the general reader.

ALFRED P. DORJAHN

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

WALTER MILLER, *Daedalus and Thespis*, The Contributions of the Ancient Dramatic Poets to Our Knowledge of the Arts and Crafts of Greece, Volume III, Painting and Allied Arts (University of Missouri Studies, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2): Columbia (1932). Pp. xi + 265 (i.e., pp. 598-863) with 53 plates and Indexes. \$4.30.

In a review of Volume I of this work (CLASSICAL JOURNAL [1930], 472 ff.), Professor James T. Allen used language which possibly seemed extravagant to those who had not seen the book: "Of great typographical beauty, this sumptuous volume is a work of unique fascination — one that will be indispensable to every Hellenist and of immense usefulness to all who are interested in the arts and crafts of Greece. . . . Professor Miller deserves our gratitude and our congratulations for so lucidly presenting the great mass of evidence which he has assembled. The range and variety of the topics are most impressive. Moreover, every page testifies to the author's learning and his mastery of the subject. Professor Miller knows and loves Greece. A reading of his book

reveals this. It also gives the distinct impression that the preparation of the book was indeed 'a long labor of love.' "

The volume under review, which follows with remarkable promptness Volume II, issued as Nos. 3 and 4 of Vol. VI of the University of Missouri Studies,¹ fully justifies the language used by Professor Allen; the three volumes constitute in truth a "monumental work" and a distinct contribution to American scholarship.

The range of the topics treated, as well as some idea of the methodical arrangement, is perhaps most easily shown by listing briefly the chapter headings:

- xi. Painting:
 - A. The Old Masters;
 - B. General Allusions to Painting;
 - C. Portrait Painting;
 - D. Mythological and Religious Painting.
- xii. Weaving, Tapestry, and Embroidery.
- xiii. Mosaics.
- xiv. Pottery.

But this listing gives a very meagre account of the riches contained in these chapters; under the head of "Pottery," for instance, there is an "Alphabetical List of Vases named in the Drama" which covers 105 pages. The chapter on "Weaving" contains an interesting account of the technique of the craft, as does the chapter on "Pottery."

The author expresses his acknowledgment to The American Council of Learned Societies "for the subvention, through which was made possible the invaluable assistance of Miss Mary Elizabeth Folse, M.A., in the preparation of the indexes to the three volumes." These are:

- I. Index of Passages Cited from Ancient Authors;
- II. Index of Artists;
- III. Index of Subjects.

¹ Professor Allen also reviewed Volume II in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxviii (1933), 691 ff.

In such a work as this the Index is indispensable, and Miss Folse's work is admirably done. In the Author Index not only is the name of the author given but each separate play or fragment is cited by name and line. A glance at an entry in one of the indexes will show at once not merely the value of the index but the wealth of detailed references to the authors. "Archedicus" refers us to page 736, and there we find, in corroboration of the simple statement that "the cotyle is a unit of measure, liquid or dry," citations from eight several authors, and citations from seven in proof of the further statement that "of this sort are most of the compounds of numbers plus *κότυλος*."

A most pleasing feature of all the volumes is the translation of the Greek passages — Dr. Miller leaves all his Latin quotations untranslated. It is a great relief to find a scholar doing his own translating, after reading so often at the end of a passage, "(The translation is by ————)." In all cases in these volumes the translation is by Miller — and exceedingly good translation it is, colloquial and at times racy when he is quoting from comedy, dignified when he is quoting from tragedy. The choice of names for the vast variety of drinking vessels argues an encyclopaedic (though entirely academic) knowledge of such vessels on the part of the author which will be surprising to those who have the pleasure of knowing him intimately.

The absence of misprints in volumes containing such a multiplicity of detail, such a variety of languages, and so many styles of type, is amazing. In the list of Corrigenda there are but nineteen typographical errors listed from the two preceding volumes, and these quite unimportant; and the present reviewer, who was gloating over the supposed discovery of two in this volume — for what is a review containing no faultfinding? — was forcibly reminded of Mark Twain's comment on the two estimates of the capacity of the Heidelberg Tun: "One of these is a mistake, and the other is a lie." One of the "errors" was a translation a little too subtle for him, and the other was a variant from the reading of the text he consulted!

The work ends with a most modest claim: "If *Daedalus and Thespis* has furnished material for further treatment of a fascinating subject for archaeological investigation and if it may serve philologists as an archaeological commentary to the ancient dramatic poets, it may justify its ambition to occupy a place in the field that has been aptly named '*la philologie archéologique*.'" Professor Miller may rest assured that this modest ambition has been fully satisfied.

One completes the reading of the work with a distinct feeling of pride in this evidence of American scholarship. Profound learning, an intimate and loving acquaintance with the literature and the antiquities of Greece, an easy and pleasing style, quick intelligence, a quiet sense of humor, and an entire lack of pedantry are its characteristics; and one closes it with a satisfied *Explicit feliciter*.

WM. D. HOOPER

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

WILFRED P. MUSTARD, *The Eclogues of Henrique Cayado*, edited with introduction and notes: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1931). Pp. 98. \$1.50.

Those Latin readers who have not dipped into some of the humanistic poetry of the Renaissance have a treat in store for them. Although these modern poets did not go very far afield from imitation of Vergil, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca in their syntax, metre, and vocabulary, their subject matter and imagery frequently exhibit a freshness that is delightful. Professor Mustard of Johns Hopkins was the editor of a series known as *Studies in the Renaissance Pastoral* where he has shown considerable taste in the selection of his authors. The present volume is number six in this series. Henrique Cayado, who always signed himself as Hermicus, was a Portuguese who came to Italy to study with the great Politian, before 1494, and who remained there till shortly before his death in 1508, if we can believe some authorities. The first publication of his eclogues, *sylvae*, and epigrams was in 1496 by Justinianus de Ruberia of Bologna; an enlarged

edition was issued in 1501, also at Bologna. Presumably there was another printing, in Lisbon, in 1565, which is not mentioned by Professor Mustard, and selections were published in two collections, one at Padua in 1504 and the other at Rome in 1672.¹ Such critics as Erasmus and Filippo Beroaldo spoke highly of the quality of Cayado's Latin.

The present editor publishes only the nine eclogues; he quotes from Cayado's epigrams in the introduction when establishing a biographical fact. The notes take careful account of the sources on which Cayado must have drawn and they give some information on the poet's contemporaries who are mentioned. As so little is known of the life of Henrique Cayado, the editor has attempted to bring together all extant information in his introduction. There are instances where we feel he could have been more precise. The edition of 1496, which is extremely rare, is cited (p. 11) with no reference to printer nor to other bibliographical data necessary in identifying an incunabulum. This volume is not listed in the Hain *repertorium*; its Proctor number is 6662. There is no copy in this country and as the *Gesamtkatalog* of early printed books has not reached the letter *c* we do not know where it can be found except in the British Museum. When the library of Edwin Tross was offered for sale in Paris in 1874, this incunabulum was listed at forty francs!² Presumably this was the copy purchased by the British Museum in that year. Again Mr. Mustard speaks of Nonio Cayado as a cousin of the poet (p. 12). Moréri in his *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (ed. of 1725) mentions Nonio Cayado as an uncle. Without a copy of the poet's epigrams before us we do not feel capable of judging this.

We believe that Professor Mustard has done a real service to

¹ The editor exercised extreme care in his search for bibliography but he missed the *Summario da Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisbon, Antonio Gomes (1786), II, 195, which presumably is the only reference that mentions the Lisbon edition and the collection of 1504. Since Cayado delivered a funeral oration at Padua in 1505, this additional reference might lead us to infer that Cayado was resident there for a time. The *Bibliotheca hispano-vetus* — *Bibliotheca hispano-nova* of Antonio Nicolás, Rome (1672-76), is cited by Baillet in his *Jugemens des scavants*, a reference known to Professor Mustard.

² Listed under Caiadus in Brunet's *Manuel du libraire*.

scholarship in publishing these eclogues. They have undeniable charm, and even the edition of 1501 is not accessible to most of us. Where will we turn if we wish to examine Cayado's *sylvae* and his epigrams? These did not enter into the plan of Professor Mustard's series.⁸

URBAN T. HOLMES, JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

W. A. LAIDLAW, *A History of Delos*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1933). Pp. viii + 307. 18 s.

Mr. Laidlaw has presented within the small compass of three hundred and seven pages a comprehensive history of the little island of Delos from prehistoric times to its death and burial and its marvelous resurrection at the hands of the French School at Athens. He sets forth clearly the religious, political, and commercial importance of Delos — vast out of all proportion to the size of the tiny island.

The author is master of the earlier and later literature of the subject as well as of the voluminous reports of the French archaeologists. His extensive studies on the island itself have given him an intimate acquaintance with the topography, buildings, sculptures, and inscriptions that have come to light in the last half century.

The history of Delos is skilfully woven into the general history of Greece, especially of Athens and of the Successors of Alexander. A considerable portion of the book (pp. 94-168) is given to "Free Delos," by which the author characterizes the Delos of the Diadochi.

The declared object of the work is to "select from the literary and inscriptional evidence in such a manner as to present a continuous history of Delos, in so far as it can be ascertained" (p. 15). But occasionally the author's interest in historical details betrays him into wandering rather far away from Delos. For example, Thucydides' remark that "the islanders . . . were mostly Carian or Phoenician settlers" leads to a long ethnological dis-

⁸ Professor Mustard died on July 30, 1932.

cussion as to who the Carians were, what language they spoke, when they occupied the islands. Likewise, the discussion of the "Hyperborean Maidens" invites an extended excursus on the Hyperboreans — who they were and where they belonged. We learn much also about Antigonus Gonatas, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the Ptolemies that is interesting but has nothing to do with Delos.

The eight excellent illustrations that adorn the book are from the author's own photographs. The map is reproduced from Roussel's *Délos, Colonie Athénienne*, a work indispensable to any one who makes a study of Delos.

Excellent Indices add much to the usability of the book as a work of reference.

Accuracy and thoroughness are characteristic of Mr. Laidlaw's work. Very rare indeed is such a slip as "Aeneas hails Anius with the title Thymbraee" (p. 19) or "Anios led Aeneas to the Apolline oracle" (p. 29). (Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* III, 80-89.) Haste in writing led to an occasional lapse in English, as "Neither date nor author are known" (p. 13), "Her power and fame was founded" (p. 124), "one of the biggest [warehouses] that has been excavated" (p. 236). Attention may be called to misprints not listed in the Errata: Panathenea (p. 96), Chalchis (p. 107), popu ation (p. 260), o for of (p. 261); commas are occasionally misplaced and sometimes sown broadcast (p. 144, for example) without rime or reason.

The author indulges moderately in the chaotic spelling of Greek words characteristic of the classical writings of our day. In general he follows the Latinized forms of Greek proper names. However, Laodice and Laodike, Anius and Anios (even when cited from Vergil), Dionysus and Asklepios, Callimachus and Alkimachos, Zeus Cynthius and Zeus Kynthios, etc. occur almost side by side; Tinos is neither Greek nor Latin but obviously a spelling borrowed from the French. It is devoutly to be hoped that out of the present chaos order will ere long be restored.

WALTER MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorrance S. White of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Latin Tests Published by the Coöperative Test Service

Progressive Latin teachers should be keenly interested in a national movement that is under way to provide a series of objective tests in the subjects commonly taught in high school and college, compiled through the collaboration of experts in the testing field and in subject matter. In the writer's opinion the most significant step in educational measurement within many years is the Coöperative Test Service and the College Sophomore Testing Program under the auspices of The American Council on Education. The purpose of the Coöperative Test Service is to construct ten or more comparable forms of examinations in the fundamental subjects taught in junior colleges and senior high schools and to make them available to colleges and schools, one form each year at the lowest possible cost. For this purpose the General Education Board has granted a subvention of \$500,000 extending over ten years, and Professor Ben D. Wood has been appointed Director of Test Service.

The following tests in the field of Latin are available:

Coöperative Latin Test, 1932, 1933 (16 pages), by John C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, assisted by Ruth B. McJimsey, Columbia University, and Bernard M. Allen, Roxbury School: Part I, Vocabulary, 15 minutes; Part II, Grammar, 35 minutes; Part III, Reading, 40 minutes; total time, 90 minutes.

Coöperative Latin Test, Junior Form, 1933 (12 pages), by W. L. Carr,

Teachers College, Columbia University, and G. R. Humphries, Woodmere Academy: Part I, Vocabulary, 20 minutes; Part II, Grammar, 30 minutes; Part III, Reading, 40 minutes; total time, 90 minutes.

The following ancient history test also should interest classical teachers:

Coöperative Ancient History Test, Provisional Form, 1933, by H. R. Anderson and E. F. Lindquist, State University of Iowa: Part I, Historical Personages, Historical Terms, Geographical Terms, 40 minutes; Part II, Dates and Events, 15 minutes; Part III, Miscellaneous Completion Exercises, 35 minutes; total time, 90 minutes.

For about ten years, as has been said, these tests in different forms will be published each year; and thus will be secured comparable data obtainable in no other way. A Table of Norms and Equivalence Tables are now procurable for the 1932 and 1933 tests, and a new series of tests will appear in March, 1934. These tests are inexpensive — five cents a copy, with liberal discounts on orders of 200 or more. All orders should be addressed to the Coöperative Test Service, 437 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

MARK E. HUTCHINSON

CORNELL COLLEGE,
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Commercial Latin Tests

Since inquiries concerning Latin tests are constantly coming to this department, the following list of commercial tests is herewith submitted. It is not necessarily complete.

Vocabulary only:

Stevenson *Latin Vocabulary Test* (3 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co. (1923).

Vocabulary and Sentence:

Henmon *Latin Tests* (4 forms; subjective): Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., World Book Co. (1921).

White *Latin Test* (2 forms; objective): Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., World Book Co. (1924).

Verb Forms only:

Tyler-Pressey *Test in Latin Verb-Forms* (2 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs:

Harvard Tests—Latin Morphology (5 forms; objective): Boston, Ginn and Co. (1923).

Syntax only:

Pressey Test in Latin Syntax (Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives) (2 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

Hutchinson Latin Grammar Scales (2 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co. (1928).

Vocabulary and Syntax:

Harvard Tests (5 forms; objective): Boston, Ginn and Co. (1927).

Derivative only:

Stevenson Derivative Test (3 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

Derivative and Vocabulary:

Stevenson and Coxé Latin Derivative and Latin Vocabulary Tests (3 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

Progress Tests and Drill Tests:

Ullman and Smalley Progress Tests in Latin (includes vocabulary, forms, syntax, sentences, derivatives, comprehension, and Roman civilization; sheets detachable; largely objective): New York, Macmillan Co. (1928).

Davis Latin Hurdles: Chicago, Follett Publishing Co.

McTammanny Latin Speed Tests: Troy, N. Y., Frances L. McTammanny. \$0.50 (per pad of 64 pages).

Messenger My Progress Book in Latin: Columbus, O., American Education Press.

Thompson and Orleans New York Latin Achievement Test (includes vocabulary, syllabification, accent, forms, English syntax, derivation, translation): Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., World Book Co.

Potter-Knight Latin Basic Drill Units (Part I for first half-year; Part II for second half-year): Chicago, Rand McNally and Co. (1930).

Bacon Diagnostic Tests in Latin (9 tests; objective): Boston, Ginn and Co. (1929).

Composition Tests:

Godsey Diagnostic Latin Composition Test (2 forms; objective): Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., World Book Co.

Powers Diagnostic Latin Test (2 forms; objective): Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

Miscellaneous Tests:

Orleans-Solomon Latin Prognosis Test: Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., World Book Co.

Pressey Technical Vocabularies of the Public School Subjects (Eng-

lish, German, Latin, French), Grammar and Composition: Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co.

In connection with the above tests attention should be called to the Gary *Latin as Latin Study Guide for Reading Classes*. This teaches the pupil how to read Latin as Latin and how to translate. It explains sentence structure and word order. It builds a useful vocabulary. It both guides and tests. The editor of "Hints" has had the opportunity of giving this work careful scrutiny and feels certain that this guide is a very important aid to the Latin teacher. It is published by Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

Interesting Students in Second-Year Work

In order to help students realize that Latin is not an isolated subject but one applicable outside the classroom, certain members of the second-year class made notebooks showing the relationship between Latin and some other course studied at the same time. This was a project which continued throughout the year, and on some of the books two people worked together. Geometry, bookkeeping, and biology were the subjects chosen for comparison.

All Latin words were written in red ink, the English terms in blue, and wherever possible in the geometry and biology books figures were drawn to illustrate the terms used. The notebook made by the student of bookkeeping proved to be much larger and more elaborate than either the student or I supposed possible. Terms and illustrative material made Latin seem very useful even for the practical business man.

The result of the project was an increased interest in both subjects and a tangible proof that Latin is not a dead language.

RUTH Y. KIRBY

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Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Herbert Jewett Barton

Herbert Jewett Barton, for forty-two years professor and professor emeritus in the department of classics at the University of Illinois, Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 1911-15, and its President for 1915, died at Champaign, Illinois, September 26, 1933, on the eve of his eightieth birthday. His passing removes from life's stage a venerable actor who played his part well, an uncompromising champion of classical culture, an able and inspiring teacher, an honored colleague, a lovable friend, and withal a highly useful member not only of the university which he served but also of the community in which he spent the greater part of his life. His was a wide circle of friends, and to them the tidings of his death will bring a lasting sense of bereavement and personal loss.

Born in Newport, New Hampshire, September 27, 1853, Professor Barton was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1876, receiving the degree of Master of Arts from the same institution in 1893. After serving as principal of the high school in Newport, New Hampshire, and in Waukegan, Illinois, and then as superintendent of the Waukegan schools, he filled the principalship of the Kinzie School in Chicago and later that of Normal University, which last-named position he held from

1883 to 1891. His service to public education was continued in 1900 when he was elected president of the Central Illinois Teachers' Association.

In 1891 he assumed at the University of Illinois the duties of professor of Latin, becoming professor of classics and chairman of the department in 1909, a position that he filled with unflagging zeal and success until he retired from active teaching in 1926. In addition to his work as an instructor he served the university in various capacities, such as secretary of the Senate, member of the disciplinary committee of the Council of Administration, member of the committee on athletics, and chairman of arrangements for the visits of the General Assembly. For some twenty-five years he was master of ceremonies at commencement exercises, and it is probable that during this period he was known to more graduates than was any other person connected with the institution, not excepting the president of the university.

Professor Barton was never old either in body or in spirit. Friends, to be sure, noticed that his life's day was slowly verging toward sunset and evening star; but long after the age when too often man's strength is but labor and sorrow he maintained an interest and took a prominent part in university and community affairs. He retained an office at the university, made daily visits to the campus, and up to the beginning of his brief illness was busily engaged in the preparation of a first-year Latin book. After his retirement he continued his interest in athletics and the various activities of the student body. The local chapter of the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, which he had joined at Dartmouth, looked ever to him for counsel and spoke of him affectionately as "godfather." To the end he gave generously of his time and service to the work of the McKinley Foundation for the welfare of Presbyterian students, for whose establishment he rendered a service that was scarcely matched by any other worker. For forty years he served as a member of the session of the First Presbyterian Church of Champaign.

Although he carried membership in various classical organizations, was a frequent attendant at their meetings, and was himself a competent scholar with a comprehensive knowledge of the languages and institutions of Greece and Rome, Professor Barton published little. The strength of his scholarship was put into his teaching, to which he brought a conscientious and painstaking devotion. Especially did he admire and effectively teach the story of Rome and her institutions, the orderly structure of her law and government, and the solidity and dignity of Roman character. He himself, in fact, was occasionally referred to as the "Old Roman" by those who detected in him strongly marked traits of Roman character at its best — dignity of bearing, urbanity, magnanimity, devotion to duty, practical common sense, judicious restraint

in speech and act, steadfastness of purpose, firmness — qualities exemplified in the motto often quoted by him: *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. When resolutions in his honor were recently adopted by his colleagues of the Senate of the University of Illinois, it was recalled that Professor Barton in thinking of others was wont to repeat from his favorite poet:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum,

words which (it was said with perfect truth) after all so fitly described himself: "A man honorable and steadfast in purpose."

H. V. CANTER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

David Russell Lee

David Russell Lee, professor emeritus of Greek at the University of Tennessee, by which institution he was granted leave of absence in 1932 and this year retired because of failing health, was born at Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, August 20, 1869, and died October 18, 1933, at Evanston, Illinois, at the home of his sister.

Dr. Lee received his early education at Hamilton Collegiate Institute and matriculated with honor at the University of Toronto. He was graduated from Albion College, Albion, Michigan, with an A.B. in 1895 and an A.M. in 1901, studied at the University of Chicago in 1903-04, and received a second master's degree from the University of Indiana in 1905 and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Wisconsin in 1907. He was ordained a minister of the Methodist church in 1897 and served as pastor of several churches until 1904, when he was appointed instructor in Latin at the University of Indiana. He was fellow in Latin, 1905-06, and assistant, 1906-07, at the University of Wisconsin and professor of Latin and Greek at Central College, Fayette, Missouri, 1907-09. From 1909 until 1916 he served as professor of classical literature at the University of Chattanooga and as director of the summer school, 1912-16. From 1916 until his retirement he was professor of Greek at the University of Tennessee.

An archaeologist as well as classical teacher and scholar, during the summer of 1905 he studied in the British Museum and at Rome and during the summer of 1908 in Sicily, Greece, and Dalmatia. In 1912 he was lecturer for the summer extension session of the University of the South. He contributed largely to philological journals and was author of a volume entitled *Child Life, Adolescence and Marriage in Greek New Comedy and in Plautus*, published in 1920, and a member of the American Philological Association, the Tennessee Philological Association (president, 1911-12; secretary, 1915-18), and the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (vice president for Tennessee, 1915-25).

Christmas Meetings

The Christmas meetings of the American Philological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America will be held at Washington, D.C., December 27-29, with headquarters in the Hotel Washington. The Linguistic Society of America will have meetings in the same place December 29-30. The presidential address of Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, will be delivered Wednesday evening, December 27, on the subject "Some Phases of Religious Feeling in Later Paganism"; and the annual banquet will be held the next evening, followed by a toast program and an address by Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College, entitled "Homer and the Archaeologists." The luncheon of the Advisory Council of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome will be held on Thursday noon, and the luncheon of those interested in the Horace celebration of 1935 on Friday at noon. Papers will be read at the Association meeting as follows: "The Αὔρις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχαίου" by Samuel Eliot Bassett, University of Vermont; "What is Movement 'Ἐν Δεξιᾷ?" by Alice F. Braunlich, Goucher College; "Animate Law in the *Republic* and *Laws* of Cicero" by Lester Kruger Born, Western Reserve University; "Demosthenes' *Second Philippic*" by George Miller Calhoun, University of California; "Boccaccio's Archaeological Knowledge" by Cornelia Catlin Coulter, Mount Holyoke College; "The Etymology of *Augur*" by Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University; "The Fate of 's' in the Romance Languages" by Ephraim Cross, College of the City of New York; "Cicero the Lawyer" by Arthur Crownover, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee; "Literary Criticism and Linguistic Evidence Derived from a Study of Roman Elegy" by Edward F. D'Arms, Vassar College; "The *Deus ex Machina* in Greek Tragedy" by Thomas Shearer Duncan, Washington University; "Parody in Achilles Tatius" by Donald Blythe Durham, Hamilton College; "A Late Roman Parody — the *Testamentum Porcelli*" by Clarence Allen Forbes and Michael Saul Ginsberg, University of Nebraska; "A Lease of a Pigeon House with Brood" by Kenneth S. Gapp, Princeton University; "Domitius Corbulo and Nero's Eastern Policy" by Mason Hammond, Harvard University; "Tax Contractors and Their Relationship to Tax Collection in Ptolemaic Egypt" by George McLean Harper, Jr., Yale University; "Vergil's Three Maps of Italy" (illustrated) by Louise Adams Holland, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; "The Contrary Wind of the *Iphigenia Taurica*" by Mitchell Levensohn, Yale University; "Plutarch in the Fourteenth Century — New Evidence Concerning the Transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance" by Dean Putnam Lockwood, Haverford College; "How Many Days Are 'A Few'?" by Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College; "Jewish Queens under the Roman Empire" (illustrated) by Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College; "The

Etruscans at Tusculum" by George McCracken, Grove City College; "The Origin of the Sequence" by Ruth Ellis Messenger, Hunter College; "The Medical History and Mental Health of Libanius" by Roger Ambrose Pack, University of Michigan; "Note on Vergil, *Georgics* ii, 32-34" by Arthur Stanley Pease, Harvard University; "The Origin and Date of the Fables Ascribed to Syntipas" by Ben Edwin Perry, University of Illinois; "What the Plimpton Library Offers to Teachers of Latin" by George Arthur Plimpton, New York, New York; "New Light on the Text of Plato's *Laws*" by Levi Arnold Post, Haverford College; "The Catalogues of the Princely and Papal Libraries of the Italian Renaissance" (illustrated) by Dorothy Mae Robathan, Wellesley College; "Ignorance of the Law in Tacitus and Dio" by Robert Samuel Rogers, Western Reserve University; "Scaliger and the Text of Petronius" by Evan Taylor Sage, University of Pittsburgh; "The Date of the Composition of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus" by Kenneth Scott, Western Reserve University; "Some Problems Concerning the Building Activities of Agrippa in Rome" (illustrated) by Frederick William Shipley, Washington University; "Caesar's Enemies and Friends among the Poets" by John William Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University; and "The Classical Scholarship of Thomas Gray" by La Rue Van Hook, Columbia University.

The James Loeb Bequests Again

In the death of James Loeb, which occurred at his estate in Murnau, near Munich, on May 27, the cause of the classics lost one of its most loyal supporters and most generous patrons. Loeb's interest in antiquity dated from his undergraduate days at Harvard, when, like so many others of his generation, he fell under the spell of the teaching of Professor Charles Eliot Norton. His interest manifested itself in many ways: in the great collection of bronzes, terra cottas, vases, Jewelry, and other works of minor art which he gradually formed; in the establishment at Harvard of the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship for study at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens; in his translation of Decharme's *Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas* (1906) and Couat's *Aristophanes and the Political Parties of Athens* (1909) and *Alexandrian Poetry* (1931); and in contributions to many of the activities of the Archaeological Institute of America and other societies. Most important of all, perhaps, was his organization of the Loeb Classical Library, planned to include text and translation of the extant works of Greek and Latin writers.

For the completion of the Loeb Library a most interesting plan is provided. To the President and Fellows of Harvard College the sum

of \$300,000 is bequeathed with the request that they appoint three trustees as managers and administrators of the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, and it is provided that when, in the opinion of the trustees and the editors of the Library, the series shall have reached its completion, the annual income from invested funds and all income and profits from sales are to be used "for the encouragement of special research at home and abroad in the province of Archaeology and of Greek and Latin Literature," such encouragement to take the form of (1) stipends for one or more years to scholars or graduates of any university of good standing at home or abroad, to be chosen by a committee appointed by the Trustees of the Foundation, and (2) printing and publishing the results of such researches as the Committee may deem worthy of publication. Thus the future of the Loeb Library is assured, and in the not too distant future new and welcome support for research and publication will be available to classical scholars.

Muncie, Indiana

A recent questionnaire from the office of the president of the Ball State Teachers College to the teachers colleges in the North Central Association discovered that all thirty-four of these colleges offer French, thirty offer Latin, twenty-five offer German, twenty offer Spanish, three offer Italian, and only one offers Greek. Answers as to the best background and most useful preparation for teaching give Latin first place, French second, and German third.

A survey of the high schools of Indiana showed that of the 845 high schools in the state 761 offer Latin, and in 645 of these schools Latin is the only foreign language taught. Only nine high schools in the state teaching foreign language do not have Latin.

These items are taken from the *Northeastern*, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, of which the editor is T. M. Pearson, professor of Latin in Northeastern Teachers College.

University of Illinois

The Sather Lectures at the University of California for the year 1933-34 will be delivered by W. A. Oldfather of the University of Illinois. The general topic will be "A Critique of Current Views Regarding the Decline of Greek and Roman Civilization." Emphasis will be laid on civilization rather than political organization, which the lecturer feels has been unduly emphasized in the past in connection with speculation in this field. The lectures will be delivered during the months of April and May.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University]

- ALEXANDER, CHRISTINE, *Greek Athletics*²: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1933). Pp. 31. \$0.50.
- BREHAUT, ERNEST, *Cato the Censor on Farming*, Translated: New York, Columbia University Press; Oxford, University Press (1933). Pp. xlv + 156. \$3.75.
- COOPER, JOHN W., and McLAREN, A. C., *Latin for Pharmaceutical Students*²: New York, Isaac Pitman and Sons (1933). Pp. 121. \$1.75.
- ECHTERNACH, H., *Kalendarium Romanum et Cetera* [for 1934]: Sterling, Ill., the Author (1933). \$0.60.
- FOAKES-JACKSON, FREDERICK J., *Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine and First Christian Historian*: Cambridge, England, W. Heffer and Sons (1933). Pp. xvi + 154. 4s. 6d.
- HAMMOND, MASON, *The Augustan Principate in Theory and Practice during the Julio-Claudian Period*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. 342. \$3.50.
- KENYON, FREDERIC G., *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible* (Schweich Lectures, 1933): New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. 119. \$2.50.
- KONCEWICZ, *Latin-Polish Dictionary*: Milwaukee, Caspar, Krueger, Dory Co. (1933). Pp. 950. \$2.50.
- LEMMI, CHARLES W., *Classic Deities in Bacon*, A Study in Mythological Symbolism: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. 233. \$2.50.
- LIDDELL, H. G., and SCOTT, R., *Greek-English Lexicon*, Revised by H. S. Jones, Part VII, *α-περφορνος*: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. 191. \$3.50.
- PALMER, GEORGE HERBERT, *The Odyssey of Homer*, Translated, with Illustrations by N. C. Wyeth: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. (1933). Pp. xxviii + 314. \$2.50.
- PENICK, DANIEL, A., and PROCTER, L. C., *Latin*², 2 vols.: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1933). Pp. 441, 554. \$1.32, \$1.60.
- PENTON, O., *Rapid Latin Course*: New York, Isaac Pitman and Sons (1933). Pp. 60. \$0.50.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

- SARGENT, LAURENS CHRISTOPHER, *Moenia Romae*, Passages from Latin Authors Illustrating Roman History and Latin Literature to the Death of Augustus, with a Running Commentary: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1932). Pp. xvi + 256. 3s. 6d.
- SCHMIDT, ERICH F., *Researches in Anatolia*, Vol. V, The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1928 and 1929, Part II (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. XX): Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933). Pp. xvii + 148. \$7.
- STEVENS, C. E., *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age*: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. xi + 233. \$3.75.
- TOURSCHER, FRANCIS E., *Saint Augustine, De Quantitate Animae*, Latin Text with English Translation and Notes: Philadelphia, Peter Reilly Co. (1933). Pp. xi + 230. \$2.
- TRAGER, GEORGE L., *The Use of Latin Demonstratives* (Especially *Ille* and *Ipse*) Up to 600 A.D. as the Source of the Romance Article: New York, Institute of French Studies (1932). Pp. xi + 198. \$1.50.
- WALBANK, F. W., *Aratos of Sicyon* (Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1933): Cambridge, England, University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. (1933). Pp. x + 222. \$2.75.
- WEHRLE, WILLIAM O., *The Macronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature*. Doctoral Dissertation: Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America (1933). Pp. xxxviii + 186.
- WOODHOUSE, WILLIAM J., *King Agis of Sparta and His Campaign in Arkadia in 418 B.C., The Art of War among the Greeks*: New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. 161. \$3.75.